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DUBLIN REVIEW.

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ART. I.—*An Earnest Appeal for the Revival of the Ancient Plain Song.* By A. WELBY PUGIN. 8vo. Dolman: 1850.

WHATEVER Mr. Pugin says or does, is like himself: and whatever is like himself must be brilliant and genuine. There are some men who rarely act or speak sincerely, at least when before the world. Mr. Pugin's difficulty, on the other hand, would be to act a part and misrepresent himself. No intelligent man could be his companion in a railway carriage, still less in a steam-boat, without guessing him to be "a genius," and but few who knew "Pugin" on paper would fail to discover the likeness between the reality and their ideal. Were we inclined, as may we never be, to break the laws of our country, a character like that of our respected author is about the last we should covet, so certain should we be to fall, the very first hour afterwards, into the hands of a police much less vigilant than our own. But of Mr. Pugin we would rather say, in illustration of our meaning, that we know of no other distinguished man alive, whose recorded words will form to posterity so exact a picture of their utterer; whose friends will possess, in the unstudied creations of his pencil and his pen, so many unmis-takeable memorials of the object of their esteem.

But it is the penalty which men so honest as Mr. Pugin must of necessity pay for the admiration and attachment which their frankness will secure, that they will occasion many misunderstandings, and not rarely do a good deal of unintentional mischief. Mr. Pugin's thoughts flow too quickly for repression, and his words, which are those thoughts on paper, stand as their natural exponents, without the checks of qualification and reserve. And thus it happens with him, as with all earnest advocates of a

cherished principle, that he loses the assent of a cautious public, while gaining the plaudits of an enthusiastic party. And while Mr. Pugin, the zealous champion of mediæval art on the one hand, and the anti-gothic revivalists in the Church on the other, are contending for their respective views with a freedom of expression which only proves to a discerning eye the sincerity of their mutual regard, because it proves what they feel themselves able to say safely—the Protestant and the Anglican, who know nothing of either, look on complacently, and chuckle with controversial glee, as though they had found out a breach in the walls of Zion, and some deadly feud were raging in our body, under the thin covering of a merely superficial uniformity. Persons habituated in the practice of differing, can ill understand how Catholics, who have a common Faith, can *afford* to disagree on matters involving neither faith nor any of its proximate subjects, and even to let those differences appear, in the spirit of a generous and confiding security, in the face of a censorious world.

In the meantime we, who come to the consideration of these differences, not as partisans, but as critics, not to advocate, but as far as we may be able, to arbitrate and adjust, are happy to feel we can throw our sympathies from time to time on either side of the question, and that too, as we trust, without either the fact of inconsistency or the risk of compromise. We fancy ourselves to be in possession of a sort of common measure by which we seem able, and that sincerely, to reconcile the apparently conflicting views of different, and in some sense rival, schools of devotional art—if we may employ a phrase, open to misconstruction, but, as we must feel, far more adequate to the intentions of the followers of each, than any which would imply that they were contending for mere hollow forms or vapid sentiments, instead of ecclesiastical and most religious realities; or which, on the other hand, would not boldly meet the fact; that, as theology is the highest of sciences, its practical application is the noblest of arts. An art it surely is, and not the less so because it is a divine art, to apply the great truths of our holy religion in such a manner as most effectually to gain upon the world which they are designed to penetrate, and by penetrating, to transform. And the difference between these schools is a difference not as to ends, but as to means; not as to whether the salvation of mankind is the first object of all

charitable efforts, and the Catholic Church the sole medium through which that object must be gained, if gained at all, but whether, and to what extent, the great institutions and principles of the Church, are either pliant or rigid, inflexible, like the dogmas of the faith, which to modify is to destroy their vitality, or, on the other hand, elastic and versatile, changing their form to external pressure without prejudice to their integrity, and indefinitely varying in their application, without corruption of their essential elements. Indeed this very word, modification, appears to be the touchstone of the controversy. If we do not mistake, with Mr. Pugin and his friends it is a word of sinister and odious import, which implies nothing less than the surrender to the world of some high and cherished truth; whereas, on the other side, it would be regarded but as the expression of the natural and necessary way of adapting variable principles to the shifting emergencies of the time. We propose, in what follows, to examine briefly these respective views, and to draw out a few of their practical results.

It appears to us, with such means and opportunities of investigation as busy men can command, that there have always been two great lines of thought and action in the Church, founded in the diversity of the great objects of that divine institution, but ultimately conspiring, though by courses occasionally somewhat divergent, to the same great ends, namely, the glory of God and the salvation of souls. The two characters of the Church Catholic which we mean, are those of Witness and Teacher. In the one it is her function to maintain throughout all time the true doctrine of God, the ever Blessed Trinity in Unity, as He is in His own divine nature and incommunicable attributes, as well as in the relation which He has vouchsafed to establish, by the Incarnation, with His creatures. In the other, the same Church is the active Teacher and Converter of the world, who, with an ever-watchful eye to her duty as also the Witness of true doctrine, is to bend as far as she can bend without breaking, and to stoop as low as she can stoop without falling, in order that "by any means she may save some" of the poor perishing souls committed to her charge. Such being the two parts of her great mission, it follows that sometimes one and sometimes the other will be uppermost in the Church's manifestation, according to the varieties of temper, and character

through which her light is reflected upon the world, or the differences of circumstance which call for the exercise of the one or the other great function. It follows also, that no perfect church-character (to use the phrase) will ever be destitute of either element, although what in one is prominent, in another will be subordinated. It would be a task of the greatest interest in its progress, and of the utmost benefit in its result, to trace the operation of these two great principles of the Church through the entire course of her history. For our present purpose it may be enough to indicate them. We are not without a very confident anticipation that those who have a deeper acquaintance with church history and biography than we claim to possess, would bear out the impression, that the exhibition of these two great departments of the Church has varied, both in individuals and in the ecclesiastical community at large, according to the crisis or necessity of the time. For instance, that in days when heretical subtlety was the most formidable antagonist of the Church, it would be found that the Church was more conspicuous for her witness to dogmatic truth than for her invention of missionary expedients; and that on the other hand, as the corruption of the masses rather than the pride of the few was given her as her object of attack, or her province of labour, men have been raised up, fitted rather to be her victorious warriors on the field of missionary enterprise, or her successful ambassadors in the quieter work of a heavenly diplomacy, than her champions in the schools, or her ascetics in the cloister. And of course to say that never has there been the period when the evil of our nature has not taken *both* forms, and so when there has not been the need of both modes of encounter, is merely to say, what we have already admitted, that the two great characters of the Church, though they are found in different degrees of prominence at different times, are never wanting to her in their sufficient combination.

Our Lord's gracious purpose of choosing instruments of various temper for carrying out the work of His Incarnation through all ages of His Church, would seem to have been shadowed out by anticipation in the characteristic differences existing between the agents whom He chose, at the beginning, to plant and propagate His divine religion. How different, for example, was St. Peter from St. Paul, and both from St. John! One seemed formed

to win, another to testify, another to govern: one was the type of all missionaries, another of theologians, and another of Popes. Nay, had not such differences a still earlier date, and a still more august exemplification? "John the Baptist," we read, "came neither eating nor drinking," and herein presented a contrast, conspicuous and avowed, to his Divine Follower, who, from adopting a less austere mode of life, received from His enemies the reproach of laxity. Each protested against the world in his own way; the one by leaving it, the Other while mingling with it; and thus they became respectively the great founders, the one by divine delegation of the contemplative, the Other by His own voluntary choice of the active, branch of the religious life. Another function of the Church remained to be fulfilled, involved indeed in those which were illustrated during the ministry of our Blessed Lord, but still requiring a fuller expansion to meet the necessities of the occasion; and for the discharge of this, the Apostolate had to be amplified by the addition of one born out of time. In the Person of Our Divine Redeemer every ecclesiastical character was essentially contained. He was the First of Missionaries, of Priests, of Religious, of Doctors; a Doctor when He taught in the Temple, a Religious when He was hidden at Nazareth, a Priest in His Oblation for sin, a Missionary when He gathered in souls in the streets of Jerusalem, or along the borders of Genesareth. Still Our Lord's Divine Commission was characteristically described in the words, "The Lord hath anointed Me to preach the Gospel to the poor." And as the Father sent Him, so He His disciples, to convert the world by direct encounter and sustained attack. He portrayed for them the character of the Missionary when He told them to be "wise as serpents and harmless as doves," and they acted on His words, so as to be "all things to all men, that by any means they might save some," and to "catch" converts by a harmless "guile," and to seem in the eyes of the world "deceivers," while "true." And then followed ages of heresy, and God raised up to deal with them, men of intellect, learning, and eloquence; but heresy spread and ramified, and required a more systematic and cogent check than controversy, which had done its work in evolving the great points at issue. Then the Church stood in need, not so much of treatises as of acts, of disputants as of theologians. And

then the holy accretions of tradition were sifted, and the thoughtful dicta of divines gathered up, and the result was in the shape of conciliary decisions, which closed open questions, disembedded latent truth, and converted well-founded opinions into the immutable dogmas of theology. The conquest or influx of heathen and barbarous nations left the Church leisure to cope with her enemies, and conquer rebels, instead of making the extension of her empire the paramount object of her efforts, though, as occasion arose, and here or there a field for missionary enterprize presented itself, her Augustines and Bonifaces were not wanting for the work.

The questions, then, which occur to the minds of Catholic churchmen, when they are called upon to choose between two very different modes of gaining over the world to the Church, are naturally such as these: What is the particular form of evil to be subdued? What the character of the times and the persons which we are called on to encounter? Are they, as to their religious aspect, heathen or heretic; as to their social, barbarous or cultivated; as to their national, gay or grave? with many others of the same kind, too obvious and too many for enumeration. To pronounce in the abstract in favour of one or the other of different roads to the heavenly life which are alike included within the wide limits of the Faith, would be, as we humbly conceive, to overlook the declaration of our Lord Himself, that the great institutions of the Faith were made for man, and not man for them; so that whatever is accidental merely in the Divine Economy, and not part of the sacred Deposit of the Truth itself, is capable of indefinite variety according to the ever changing phases of that human nature to which in the Incarnation Almighty God condescended once for all. Now, we apprehend, that on the major premiss of the syllogism, these rival schools are agreed; that there is but one opinion between them, as to the duty of preserving intact whatever is essential in the teaching of Holy Church. It is as to the minor proposition that diversities of opinion will arise; and accordingly we think that on one side of the argument, at any rate, there is a tendency to press circumstantials into the province of the Faith, as though they were its necessary adjuncts or incontrovertible corollaries. The whole tenor of the earnest pamphlet we are reviewing is assuredly such as would be warranted only upon this extreme supposition.



In one place (p. 4), the distinguished author goes so far as to confess to sympathize with an heretical liturgy, merely because it is a form of public prayer, and in portions of its matter ancient and catholic, while he rejects practices of devotion, more modern in structure, though in their substance avowedly orthodox, and such as are actually in use in many parts of the Catholic world. Now, if it be indeed true that liturgical worship is as necessarily the one devotional expression of Catholic Faith, as creeds and canons are its formal embodiments, then, no doubt, our present argument falls to the ground. Mediævalism must be forced upon our people, however reluctant to accept it, for it would in that case become a matter of faith against sight to believe that this system must ultimately prevail. But if it belong to the class of church subjects, which concern not the essence of the Faith, but merely its accidental expression, then the enquiry into the circumstances of national or temporary peculiarity, for which ecclesiastical provision has to be made, is most pertinent, or rather, necessarily antecedent, to the whole question between the two great schools of devotion with which we are at present engaged.

Under the decided impression that the latter of these is the true hypothesis, we venture to ask whether it certainly follows, that because certain modes of devotion were adapted to former times of the Church, they are necessarily suited to our own? There are some, we believe, who go so far as to say that the Reformation itself was the outburst of a set of feelings, common to all of us, for which the mediæval system made too little provision; and that the Ages of Love which then succeeded to the Ages of Faith formed the providential counteraction to the evils of that movement, and a kind of supplementary development of practical religion which till then had wanted one of its legitimate channels. It is no part of our present task to pronounce either for or against this striking opinion. But it may be said, we hope, without any danger of theorizing, that, historically speaking, such a development of the popular and affectionate side of religion did occur about the period of that disastrous convulsion which shook the Church from one end to the other, and the effects of which are so miserably felt by us even at the close of three centuries. A new class of saints arose about the era of the Reformation, as different from their immediate predecessors

in the middle age, as they again were different from the saints of an earlier time. And as it is the saints who are the true "salt of the world," not preaching, or literature—because the lives of the saints are theology in action—a manifestation so glorious, and in a certain sense so original, could not but give (if we may be permitted so to apply the words) "the age and body of the time its form and pressure." Indeed it would almost seem as if in a certain sense there needed after the Reformation a kind of revival of primitive Christianity, and the world, after that deluge of evil, had to be in a manner re-converted. The countries in which mediæval principles of art and worship had been most conspicuously illustrated, were those precisely in which the ravages of the Reformation were most felt; and the difficulty which is now found in restoring those principles is a proof how their very traces have been obliterated. Now, certainly, if evils are best cured by contraries, the deadly poison of self-will, which the triumphs of Satan in the 16th century introduced and circulated throughout the frame of European society, is best counteracted by mediæval remedies. But if, as many think, the Reformation was the attempt of a disappointed individualism to avenge itself upon its supposed oppressors, it may have been in the designs of Providence, that the very traditions of a former age should be superseded by a reconstruction of the practical system of the Church upon a more primitive basis. During the fifteen preceding centuries wonderful saints had been raised up, and wonderful works done in the Church, great orders founded, gigantic heresies crushed, the fabric of theology gradually constructed, and the power of the world successively subdued. But no movement, except Christianity itself, admits of being compared, as the work of a single corporation, internal to the Church, with that which has been accomplished in these latter days by the Society of Jesus; whether we regard the extent of its influence, the permanence of its effects, or the multiplicity of its operations. In the short space of three centuries that wonderful Institute has carried its mission into all parts of the globe, enriched all the highest departments of theology with priceless contributions, and given to the world seven glorious Saints not less remarkable for the diversity than for the greatness of the gifts by which they were distinguished; and these, as it would seem, but an instalment of the treasures of sanctity yet to be drawn



forth from the storied archives of its history, and enshrined in the calendar of Holy Church. And the secret of all this power over a reluctant and reclamatory world has been, under Divine grace, in those penetrating and transforming Exercises, which present to us the fruit of the ineffable revelations of Manresa.

But, absolutely beyond all comparison as has been the influence of this great Society upon mankind, whether we look to the abiding effects of its missionary undertakings, the inappreciable value of its theological standards, the fruits of its retreats, or last, but not least, the calm and modest witness of its homely, every-day workings—yet the Society is far from being the only great instrument employed by our Lord in later times for renewing or reinvigorating what may be called our personal relations with Him through His Church. Another body there is, of coeval date with the great Society, which, though as yet in a much narrower field, has carried some parts of the Society's popular work to a perfection which hardly admits of a parallel. Leaving to others the province of missionary labour, and the austerer forms of the religious life, the Congregations of the great St. Philip Neri have formed, wheresoever located, centres of holy light and beaming charity, wonderfully attractive to a world which sterner ways would have repelled, and diffusive, to an extent quite incommensurate with any apparent efforts, of influences as strong as they have been silent. Of the Oratorian rule love is at once the bond, the sanction, and the end. The Philippine communities are bound together not by vows but by mutual sympathy, and the superiors are not the less faithfully obeyed because they give few direct commands. Passing words, tones of voice, looks, and even gestures are calls to obedience in the eye of affectionate children. The Oratorian congregations are so many insulated but yet concordant homes, deriving strength from a real union of principle and object, but each doing its work apart with such accidental diversities as are inseparable from difference of place. The children of St. Philip are fitted for the work of love by their own mutual exercise of it. They are more strictly the servants than the friends of the world, so far as it pleases to draw towards them; they lay themselves out to win it, and therefore must, in all that is not sin, even bend to its wayward humours. They are bound to make time, where they cannot find it, for visitors, whom

they have a chance of consoling or edifying ; their privacy is rarely safe from intrusion, or their works against interruption, though their charity towards all men will prevent their ever seeming (to use a common phrase) "put out." A discipline this, which to many minds is infinitely more trying than corporal austerities, and all the more meritorious because the world accounts it not discipline but frivolity. Thus the Church has shown herself equal to her contest with the world in the very last department of influence, which would have been beforehand imagined—in the world's own peculiar province. She yields all but the Faith, and encourages all that is not sin, in order to gain a hold on the affections. St. Ignatius gave an extreme instance of this holy policy, when, in his dealings with his illustrious convert St. Francis Xavier, he began with encouraging his *forté*, and all but flattering his vanity ; and through this amount of concession, clear of sinful compliance, though approximating indefinitely near it, he ended by changing the ambitious scholar into the slave of the poor, so that the admired of Paris came to die as an outcast on the coast of China. This is what our blessed Lord calls the "wisdom of the serpent," (a strong metaphor, if it be considered,) and St. Paul "being all things to all," and the men of this generation "doing evil that good may come ;" thus, as Archbishop Whately somewhere says, begging the whole question, whether what is done *be* evil.

So much of preparatory observation has seemed requisite towards analysing the grounds of the differences between the two schools of devotion which are represented severally by Mr. Pugin on the one hand, and the Jesuits and Oratorians on the other. For they are much mistaken who look upon these differences as involving mere questions of *taste*. The advocates on both sides are far too earnest and too thoughtful to risk even the semblance of disunion (for that the reality exists we emphatically deny) for anything so worthless as mere external forms. The matters in dispute are undoubtedly realities ; but realities different in kind from those about which Anglicans and Protestants disagree, inasmuch as they affect not the substance of the Faith, but, as we have already said, the mode only, in which that substance shall be set forth in the practical workings of the Church. We are not wishing to undervalue these differences, nor even to deny that they may

have a deeper spring and a more important bearing than is at once recognized; all we seek is to fortify the Catholic Church against those charges of internal division which are freely made against her by externs, in the way of what is vulgarly called a "tu quoque" rejoinder, and which we are bound to admit the language of the pamphlet under review, to those who take it for anything else than the *currente calamo* expression of a very remarkable idiosyncrasy, seems in a measure occasionally to bear out.

Mr. Pugin and his opponents appear to us to represent at their very ultimate points and in their very broadest delineations, two principles of devotional arrangement which have each their place in the Church, but which the varying circumstances with which that Church has to deal will tend at different periods to develop in very different proportions. These are what we will call the Liturgical, and the Popular: thus using terms which the opposite side will not, we hope, regard as in any way invidious, though the first expresses a fact, and the other a *view*. "Popularity," that is, adaptation to the needs, and in so far as it represents those needs to the taste, of the generality of well-intentioned people, is, we suspect, the bugbear of the one side, as much as it is the aim of the other; and so a term which one party will take as a compliment, the other would affix as a stigma. The main question seems to be, is there anything so necessary to the Faith in the full exhibition of the ritual system, as that we may not modify it, and even, at times, withdraw it, in the cause of general edification? Or, in plain language, if our people ought to like the Breviary offices, as solemnized in public, but will not do so, are we to yield to their (if so be) bad taste, or make war against it? And here two doubts arise; the one, whether we ought to change this taste if we could, the other whether we could do it if we desired? We will take the last of these queries first. Our zealous ritualists, we conclude, determine it at once in the affirmative; for we do not suppose that they would justify a priest in a hopeless crusade against the unconquerable feelings of his people, or that they would deny, in the face of the Council of Trent, that edification is an end, though a subordinate one, of ceremonial observances.

An able paper was lately put out in the "Rambler," the object of which was to argue against Vespers as an evening office suitable to the mass of the people. This

paper has attracted much notice, and has opened a great question which can hardly be determined, with our existing materials for a judgment upon it. That the Vespers, or any other choral church-office, as hitherto commonly performed, should be edifying to devout minds, could only, we should think, be explained by the fact of their having that power of abstraction from sensible objects which is said to have prevented St. Bernard from acquainting himself with the structure of the room in which he had lived for years. That persons with an ear, or a heart, should be aided (though they might not be hindered), in their devotions by psalms drawled, antiphons attenuated, versicles with variations, and responses reduced from the full-bodied roll of an animated chorus of voices, to the freezing solo or the dull duet, would imply such a love for the divine office in the abstract as some Catholics feel, but as could hardly be reckoned upon in an average congregation. And whether the same office, even when heard under great advantages, will ever be an extensive favourite with the mass of our people, is a question which there has not yet been sufficient time to clear up, though facts seem tending to settle it in the affirmative; but it must be tried under such advantages in order to be fairly determined. That the Vespers, as religiously sung, are popular with many pious Catholics, is absolutely certain; and even the poor Irish are strangely attached to the Latin offices: partly, it would seem, because they have never been used to any other, and partly because to many of that excellent people the Latin is quite as intelligible as the English, and, as they say, "more solemn." But whether by this they mean that they are devotionally affected by them (as educated people are), or whether the phrase expresses no more than a feeling of irrational awe, such as a child experiences when alone in the dark, is more than we can undertake to pronounce.

But there is a class of Catholics, and a growing one, who for some reasons demand a more careful provision than our good Irish "immigrants," as it is now the fashion to call that valuable part of our Catholic population—we mean the English Catholic poor, most of them converts of no long standing among us. In this body it is almost as hard to plant the faith as in the other to uproot it. The faith of an Irish Catholic often wants perfecting, but in the English it wants forming. To the one no food comes

amiss, but the other is dainty and eclectic. And these natural characteristics are heightened in the case of many converts, by their uncatholic experience. As Englishmen, these Catholics like to have a personal share in public worship as in other things; and whether brought up as Dissenters or as Anglicans, their early devotional preferences (if they had any) were strictly congregational. We who write have no strong sympathies with this turn of mind; but it is one of the phenomena which the Church must meet, and to which of course, as being the Church, she is equal.

The ecclesiastical arrangement which Mr. Pugin admires, were the correlatives of the "Ages of Faith." And the assumption on which he builds is, that what was right then must be right now. Instead of regarding the temper of the present times as a reason for modifying these arrangements, he takes its inaptitude to them as a clear note that it is radically bad and can only be mended by being entirely remodelled. One objection to this theory is, that life is too short to carry it out. The world is waning, and souls are perishing, and good men are few, and the devil is "many;" and after all that may be truly said for the security of slow processes and the stability of protracted works, we hold that there is another side of the question, according to which it is well that what is done for the salvation of souls should be done quickly. Abstractedly speaking, no doubt it is both nobler in idea, and higher in principle, that cathedrals should be elaborated than that chapels should be run up. In the Ages of Faith men could afford to lose time. We rejoice that we have ages to look back upon when churches were perfected by bits, and when queens took half a life to embroider a chasuble. Such facts symbolize the perpetuity, and indicate the strength, and contribute to the evidence, of the Catholic Church; but now-a-days we must be satisfied to view them as wonders rather than to use them as precedents. And the principle on which they proceed has *always* its illustration in the moral and spiritual world of the Church. With all the claims on instant attention which press around her, still she can afford, as far as human appearance goes, to lose time and waste energy; and although she cannot, at least here in England, spend centuries upon churches, or bruise diamonds to form the inimitable colour of a painted window (exquisitely beautiful as is the principle of such

sacrifices), yet even in England, with its millions of souls to be converted, men are training for the priesthood in religious houses through lengthened and unknown courses of discipline, whose term of probation our zealous impatience might long to abridge; and others have passed, or are passing, from fields ripe for the sickle of the missionary, to the deep trance of the noviciate, or the living death of the monastery. How like is all this to the dispensation of Him who can save by few as by many, in the valley as on the hills, with whom "one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day!" But to act on this principle, where such sacred matters as vows and vocations are not at stake, seems to us like a waste of time.

The circumstances in which the Church finds herself, at least in England, oblige her to do her work of concession and edification in the shortest time in which she can do it well, and with the largest amount of relaxation which her laws and principles admit. Striking theories, lofty views, cherished prepossessions, favourite tastes, hereditary notions, *esprit de corps*, all, in short, that is not truth, must yield to the pressing emergency of a great nation perishing for lack of spiritual bread. The children are crying for food, and there is none at hand to answer. The great notes of unity and love, by which the Church was to be known, are utterly wanting to every one of the countless sects around them, and are more and more visibly monopolized by us. Hence that constant process of deep yearning and full satisfaction which is going on around us, honourable at once to the religious capabilities of the English, and indicative of the power which resides in the Catholic Church to attract by her beauty and fill by the richness of her gifts.

In this country the Church has to deal with a people eminently practical. What Englishmen cannot master, they are tempted to despise; what they cannot appropriate, they are disposed to grudge. They are the very opposite to those of whom it was said, that their ignorance was the measure of their admiration, "*ignotum pro mirifico*." Our people are tolerant of anything rather than of mystery and theological exactitude. With great and noble susceptibilities, they have radical faults; Protestantism has deepened and given shape to the evil, and all but crushed the good. Nevertheless, Englishmen have one great redeeming quality; there is a pervading element of simple-



hearted and generous affectionateness in their character, which is, after all, the stuff Catholicism is made of—if only it can be liberated from the mass of hereditary prejudice which overlays and chokes it. The total failure of the movement to which Dr. Pusey has given his name, but not always his spirit, may be explained by reference to these points in our national character. Puseyism came directly athwart every prominent feature of the English mind; its detestation of what is commonly called “humbug” (which is the good result of what is intrinsically so irreligious, its anti-mystical element); its repugnance to subtlety (which, though a good, is connected with the untheological habits of our nation), and, generally, its thoroughly practical tone and temper, which absolutely recoiled from the absurd unreality of that most preposterous invention—we speak of it always not in its original springs, or in its accidental ramifications, but in its popular exhibition, and ultimate issues. On the other hand it may be observed, that so far as Puseyism has been really influential, its power has been owing to a certain tone of affectionate earnestness with which it has here and there been found in connexion, and which has met with a response in the English heart. Thus, while Dr. Pusey was himself, and not the party-leader, he had an influence second only to that of the illustrious man who was then his fellow-labourer; but when himself was sucked into the vortex of a party which, as a whole, is singularly the reverse of affectionate, he went down; and now, from being the one in a thousand, he is, to appearance, too much like those who surround him. And other circles of influence there once were, like that for instance of which Littlemore was the centre, the “homes of pure affection,” if ever there were such. But they have blended with a larger circle, which has not absorbed them into a merciless whirlpool, but given them play, like tributary spheres, in a majestic and well-ordered system.

Hence we conclude, that the religious exhibition which is to win the English people, (whatever else it be or be not), must at any rate be loving, as well as earnest. Dogma and mystery, the accurate exposition of the Church's mind, and the august representation of her unearthly life; these, indeed, the English want, and that in the very first place. But this is not the need they *feel*; these are not the parts of Catholicism to which they can be attracted, except through some more immediate influ-

ence. The deep philosophy of our holy doctrine, the sweet poetry of our glorious ritual, the graceful symbolism of our divine ceremonies, and the like, which are all that many lofty and delicate minds among us feel necessary towards linking them with the celestial world, are absolutely lost upon what are commonly, though somewhat flatteringly, called "practical" men. In this country such men are, for the most part, infidels, if indifferent, and if serious, evangelicals or dissenters. They are generally shrewd enough to know that a Christian, and especially a Christian teacher, must not be cold, secluded, and visionary. They see that, if it was love which brought our Redeemer from heaven to earth, love to God and our brethren must be the ruling spirit of His religion. Again, that the gospel which Christ taught would be unlike Himself were it afraid of encountering the world on the world's own ground; and lastly, that if the saving of the soul be matter of that difficulty and importance which preachers represent, nothing can indicate that the Church is alive to this great duty, but her appearing at the least as much concerned about it as men of the world are about riches, honours, and the other objects of their pursuit. To gain such men over to religion, nothing more is often wanted, than that the Church, as she comes before them, should seem intent, simply and directly, upon her own ends. And certainly if the Church have a machinery at her command, purposely constructed for gaining souls by countless little "inventions" of love, we can hardly doubt that she has been supplied with such an aid for some special work in which the present generation of Englishmen has a more than common interest. If she, the true Physician, neglect this labour of love, quacks will take it up.

The remarkable success which has followed upon the labours of the Oratorian Fathers, both in Birmingham and London, seems to prove that they have struck a chord which finds a ready response in the hearts of our countrymen. The attention paid to their ministrations is evidently too general and too lasting to be referred simply to the love of novelty, or to the interest felt in the past history of the more distinguished among them. Nor is it an attention which they command from any single class. Rich and poor, wise and simple, Catholics of long, and Catholics of shorter standing in the Church, are found equally to relish their cheerful devotions, and to flock to



their loving ministry. Some suspect them, some fear them, one accuses them of going too far, another of not going far enough; some call them ultra-Roman, and some almost Protestants, and some (whom we fancy nearer the truth) both at once. But they are too well versed in the Lives of the Saints to wonder at these phenomena; and to take them either as a proof that they themselves are very wrong, or the Catholic Church very degenerate, or the world around them more than usually bad. Opposition and misconception, they know, even at the hands of the good, are always the fate of zealous revivals, the salutary clog on the wheel of success; and they are not likely to quarrel with a portion which they inherit from the beginning, with the author of the Spiritual Exercises, and the founder of the Congregation of our Holy Redeemer.

But the fact remains, that an expression of Catholicism, at once zealous and gentle, popular and refined, strict and versatile, dignified and free, like theirs, in which the capacity of receiving dogmatic truth, the appreciation of states of holiness beyond ourselves, and the readiness to bow to mysterious announcements, as the true protection against the miseries of self-love, are wrought into the mind unawares, and through processes congenial to it, appears to be the provision of all others needed at this moment by a people impatient of dictation, yet perishing, through the love of this present world, for want of that which nothing, it seems, will give them, but an authority which first wins them into its confidence, and then holds them in the sweet bonds of a willing captivity.

But we are told, that to encourage in prayer the outpourings of a rapturous and even a familiar affection, to find outlets for enthusiasm in the use of vernacular hymns, to speak of Mary our Mother, and the Saints of the great Christian family, even in formal discourses, in the language of fond, uncritical children, to prefer worshipping lovingly in a barn to coldly in a cathedral, to feel the want of no ornamental accessory in a building where Christ our Lord is present in the Blessed Sacrament, and to find no choir so musical as the untutored voices of the poor and the innocent,—is to borrow a leaf from the dissenters' books, and to substitute a set of popular, or, as some might even call them, vulgar, attractives for the approved modes of the Church. A brief consideration of these objections will land us at the end of our article.

"Influence," in matters relating to the soul's health, is quite enough of a gain to be reasonably an *object* with religious men. There is such a thing as morbidly declining it, as well as that which is far commoner, and far more dangerous, faultily courting it. The Saints, we believe, acknowledged it for a blessing, while they worked on steadily through the want of it. Overvalue it they could not, because they knew it for God's gift, wholly independent of themselves, and dangerous only in proportion as this is hard to feel. St. Francis Xavier wrote to St. Ignatius on his knees, though he converted his myriads. Another St. Francis preached for three years with unabated zeal, though he could scarcely number his converts by units. But no missionary will consciously neglect any course which tends to sweeten to the world a lesson so unpalatable to it, as, "Take up thy cross and follow Me." To win souls is his vocation; what can more fitly describe it than the name, "fisher of men?" Now a fisherman's object is, to secure the capture of his prey. For this he will toil the day, and watch the night; for this he will spare no pains, neglect no practicable device. The apostle thought it no breach of Christian innocence to "catch" his converts "with guile," to cast, that is, his nets, in the most dexterous way, and into the most likely parts of the deep, if haply he might inclose some stray soul in their unworldly meshes. But this holy policy, which has our Lord for its author, and heaven for its end, has nothing underhand about it. It is a recognized diplomacy, not a paltry manœuvring. It deals not so much with individuals, as with classes of character, while all its aims are declared, and all its courses above-ground. The fishermen, to whom our Lord likened His apostles, were followers of a generous craft; they cast nets into the sea; they did not angle with baited hooks in rivers and pools. It is thus that the enlarged wisdom of the Catholic Church differs from the proselytizing efforts of sects.

And if that course be serviceable without being at the same time disingenuous, one does not see why the Church should fear to adopt it, merely because it has a counterpart in the history of erroneous religions. The modern Church, and some fanatics, have derived it alike, the Church by lawful inheritance, and they by the private study of Scripture, from a source more ancient than either, the doctrine and the practice of the Apostles. Wesley and

his school were students of the New Testament in their own way, and they had the "pure and apostolic branch... established in these kingdoms," as a contrast to the Apostolic model, and therefore as a warning to themselves. They went forth into the fields and into the highways, proclaiming, as men who were in earnest, the wages of sin, and the terms of salvation; they worked upon the people by homely arguments, and familiar illustrations, and arresting anecdotes; they made them sing hymns, till, from often repeating the sentiments of piety and love, the people came to feel those sentiments their own. Without the foundation of theology and the correctives of asceticism all this labour was of course in vain; the seed sprang up, but soon withered, because it had no depth of earth. But let the preacher be a religious, with the Crucified by his side to give meaning to his exhortations, and severity to his rhetoric, and it is hard to see how such an one differs essentially from a St. Vincent of Paul, or a St. Francis Xavier.

Again, it must, as we think, be under too restricted a view of the office of the Church, that such compliances with national predilections are felt to be otherwise than strictly "ecclesiastical." Every way of winning souls which is not plainly unlawful, we are maintaining to be within the scope of the Church's mission; and to say that the ways are unlawful at which we are here glancing, is to beg the question. The Church is the temple of that One Spirit, whose operations are divers. Her antagonist is that mighty world, whose resources are all but infinite, and whose power is unmatched except by Him who said He had overcome it. That world addresses itself to every faculty, and insinuates itself through every channel; but chiefly does it act through the feelings and the imagination. If we yield it all the avenues of approach to the soul, or rather, if we yield it one, we give it a sure victory. It is the wisdom of the Church to pre-occupy the imagination with visions bright enough to throw the world's gay phantoms into the shade, and to supply the affections with objects as much more beautiful than the world's idols, as they are also more pure. To these she will invite us to pour out our souls in the language even of passion; for ever is it well to cut openings for streams which are sure to overflow their bounds. Let those who blame her indulgence account as they can for the strains, amatory, not affec-

tionate only, in which the Bride of the Canticles discourses with her Beloved.

But we must reserve to another opportunity the prosecution of this interesting subject.

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Since the above was in type, we have met with an article in a contemporary periodical, which treats more or less directly of our subject. Whatever we have said which looks like a reply to the paper "on Ecclesiology and Oratorianism" in the January number of the *Christian Remembrancer*, has, at any rate, the advantage of having been written without reference to that paper, the sight of which has not led us to change a single word of our own. And having no desire to detract from this advantage by entering more directly into controversy with the reviewer, we shall confine ourselves in this appendix to the work of correcting some of the extraordinary misconceptions under which he has propounded, and that in no diffident tone, his views of ecclesiastical reform.

In the first place, we assure this reviewer that he is under a complete mistake in supposing that what he calls "Oratorianism," or the devotional development which we have attempted to characterize in these pages, is anything foreign, or even uncongenial, unhappy, to the teaching and discipline of the Catholic Church. These Puseyites cannot master the idea of a school without a party, or a movement without a faction. We assure them that we have no "isms" here. Cannot they be content with their own sections without imagining them on our side also? No Catholic, we tell them, is bound to attach himself to the Oratory or its teaching, if he does not like; we have room for all. But the Oratory has a recognized place, like other orders and communities in the Church; and when any of its fathers, in England or elsewhere, transgress its proper limits, doubtless they will be recalled to a sense of their duty by the authorities set over them. At present, we believe we are correct in saying, that the English Oratory is in the highest estimation at Rome; nay, is especially dear to the large and loving heart of our Holy Father, and in both of its local manifestations, enjoys the confidence and sympathy of the distinguished prelates who bear rule respectively in those several parts of the Lord's vineyard.

What pretence, then, is there to deal with it as an innovation or excrescence?

The other mistake which we select for notice relates to the rite of Benediction. Of this rite, its nature, meaning, history, and position in the Catholic Church, the reviewer is evidently much more ignorant than consists with the very dogmatical tone of his assertions on the subject. We learn from him, for the first time, that the "essence of Benediction is the blessing of the people by bringing the (Blessed Sacrament) into *increased proximity* with them." Whereas, in fact, the Adorable Victim occupies precisely the same place in relation to the people at Benediction, as in the Elevation at Mass, only for a longer time. Strangely enough, this writer seems to feel also that such increased proximity would savour of irreverence; as if our Blessed Lord did not approximate Himself to His people in Holy Communion so closely, that not proximity, but contact, expresses the immensity of the condescension. In processions of the Blessed Sacrament, our Lord does, it is true, approach His people more nearly than in the Mass; but these, the reviewer must know, are as old as the institution of the Feast of Corpus Christi. And, of course, that precedent gives the sanction of antiquity to the exhibition of our Lord's love in the Blessed Sacrament, in that plainness and accessibility which the reviewer seems to fancy irreverent. Has the reviewer ever considered into what proximity with sinners our Lord was brought, and that by His own condescension, during His ministry on earth? And can he not conceive what delight His lovers feel in actually contemplating, and not merely imagining, Him in the form of His adorable condescension? The reviewer implies, that he religiously eschews what he calls our "services," and we can believe it. For did he know anything of the securities for reverence which the rubric of our Benediction supplies, or had he ever been present at that sweetly magnificent function, he would have found how untrue it is, that reverence is compromised in the proportion in which love is conciliated.

With a like absence of all proof, this writer assumes, that the Oratorians are answerable for the prominence now given to the rite of Benediction. It happens, however, that the two countries of Catholic Europe in which it is in

peculiar esteem, are countries in which St. Philip has no representatives—France and Belgium.

In the Gothic cathedral of Antwerp, we will venture to affirm, that there are more Benedictions in a week, than at the chapel in King William Street in an ordinary month. Every evening in the year in that magnificent cathedral, the Blessed Sacrament is exposed for half an hour at one altar, and then carried through the church to another, and on all greater days it is exposed during the High Mass, and Benediction is given afterwards. At Liège again, as at Rome, the Forty Hours' Prayer is practised throughout the year, at the different churches in succession, involving, of course, the exposure of the Blessed Sacrament to the gaze of the people all day; and, (so far as they are present) all night. Yet here is this critic, who, for all that appears, has never (upon conscientious principles), assisted at Catholic worship in his life, undertaking to teach his readers, who in all probability are as ignorant as himself, upon matters affecting the ritual of a Church which has its place in all countries.

Nor is he more successful in his doctrinal views. The error of the Oratorians, and of those who exaggerate Benediction is, he tells us, that they disjoin the Blessed Sacrament from the Sacrifice which makes it what it is. Does he then deny that the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament is ancient and Catholic, or to say that, if our Lord vouchsafes us His abiding Presence, it is meet that it should be kept constantly shrouded from the eye of His children? and, especially, when the form under which that Presence is vouchsafed, and not merely the fact of its vouchsafement, is so especially edifying and consolatory to every loving and humble soul?

In fine, we put it to this reviewer whether he can seriously mean, that in a country like this, where hands are wanting on all sides to carry out the work of charity to the souls of the people, the Catholic Church could be expected to tie down her scanty body of missionary priests to the daily choral recitation of the Divine Office? Or that, if, in her wisdom, she thought well to do so, such fulfilment of the priestly duty could ever become an act of *popular devotion*? Let the reviewer visit some of the cathedrals in Belgium, where the canons are obliged to such recitation in choir; he will find that the attendance in the nave is limited to a few sauntering Englishmen, who



come to look at the pictures, and a few pious old women, who say their rosaries before an image, in happy unconsciousness of the presence, whether of the canons or the sight-seers. Even the Sunday Vespers at these cathedrals are often less well attended than a week-day Benediction. Here we are not arguing against the Vespers as a public office, (for it is an especial favourite with us,) but only against the views of our contemporary. And we must remind him, that the only part of Catholic Europe, as we believe, in which Vespers are extensively popular, is France, where the people take part in them—i. e., where the congregational principle is admitted in modification of the official. The actual necessities of the Church have tended to confine the Divine Office in its completeness, to the chapels of monastic, or conventual, or collegiate houses, with the exception of Vespers only, and occasionally, as on Christmas Eve, in some churches, Matins and Lauds. The secular clergy, by a most considerate, and, indeed, absolutely indispensable allowance, are permitted to fulfil their obligation of reciting the whole Divine Office where and when they find it most convenient, with, however, certain limitations, of which the reviewer does not seem aware; such as, that they may not say the Vespers of the day early in the forenoon, nor the Matins and Lauds of the next day till a certain time in the afternoon of the day preceding. On the whole, we trust that this reviewer will find a more profitable field for the exercise of his zealous labours, than the task of “adventuring rules of ritualism, to be assumed as principles for the worship of undivided Christendom” which are to take effect under the singularly hypothetical condition of “the teaching” of St. Philip Neri, being a thing “either non-existent, or external to the pale of the One Catholic Church.”

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ART. II.—*The Greek Church ; a Sketch*, by the Author of "Proposals for Christian Union." London : James Darling, 1850.

MR. Appleyard has added the above to his previous sketches on kindred subjects. The Greek Church is a fitting conclusion to "The Sure Hope of Reconciliation," "The Claims of the Church of Rome," "The Principles of Protestantism," and the "Eastern Churches ; that is, the Nestorian, Armenian, Jacobite, Coptic, and Abyssinian communities." We are glad to see that all the former have reached a second edition : we augur the same for this concluding sketch. There is one mind running through these publications, a mind possessing many valuable qualities, with one fatal defect, which would seem to neutralise the practical operation of these qualities, so far as regards the living man. We find in the author throughout a disposition to construe very charitably the motives of others, to put himself fairly in their position, to say all that can be said for them. Luther and Calvin, Fox and Wesley, the Albigenes and Waldenses, the Nestorian and the Monophysite, the Armenian and the Anglican, find in Mr. Appleyard the very opposite of the *Advocatus Diaboli*. His amiable intention seems to be, to discover a position for each and all. Nor is there even an exception to this rule as regards Catholicism itself. The charity of most Protestant writers stops as it approaches the Pope. On the contrary, our author is even enthusiastic in setting forth the great theory of the Papacy ; he acknowledges the rights of St. Peter's chair : Catholic saints claim and receive his homage. He has ever flitting before his eyes a brilliant dream, in which the Abyssinian Abuna and the Nestorian Catholicos, Dr. John Bird Sumner, and "His Holiness Anthemius, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria," the holy synod of Russia, and an Anglican convocation, are to find themselves united, "without," we should imagine, "the commandment and will of princes," (which thing Dr. Cranmer's twenty-first article declares "may not be,") in a new Lateran Council, at which St. Peter's successor is to preside, the contradictions of warring creeds are to be harmonised, and "the sure hope of reconciliation" is to take effect.

Among these sketches, that of the Greek Church is not



the least interesting. Mr. Appleyard only claims "to have selected a few remarkable periods in her history." It is therefore unfair to claim from him a cohesion of parts and unity of design, which he does not affect. Still we observe a general purpose running through his first five chapters. *First*, he exhibits nationalism, the bitter spirit of eastern jealousy, as the opponent from very early times of the Pope's authority in the Greek Church. He shows this spirit continually breaking out, from the contest of the Eusebian bishops with Pope Julius in the fourth century, to the final schism under Michael Cerularius in the eleventh, and the abortive union of Florence in the fifteenth. Seven hundred years, at least, the Greek Church struggled against a supremacy which it was constrained ever and anon with fresh humiliation to recognise, until Photius in the ninth, and Michael Cerularius in the eleventh century, consummated that division, which Acacius, their worthy predecessor, attempted in the fifth, only with the result in the end of having his own name struck out of the sacred diptychs, and numbered with heretics. *Secondly*, we are shown how a cognate power comes to the relief and support of eastern jealousy of the west, and Grecian hatred of the Latins; viz., the power of the State, as set forth in the action of the imperial authority from the time of Constantine. Nowhere do we more cordially sympathise with the author than in his pitiless disclosure of the tyranny over the Church exercised by nearly all those sovereigns who succeeded to the throne, and the pretensions of the first Christian emperor. Constantius and Valens, with their Arian tools, and Zeno, with his Acacius, and Michael, the patron of Photius, and Leo the Armenian, and Constantine Copronymus, are hideous anticipations of Henry the Eighth and Cranmer: and the servility of the eastern bishops only finds its parallel in the humble submission of the Elizabethan episcopate to their mistress. If it cost an eastern emperor little to depose the blameless patriarch Ignatius, because he would not patronise the incest of a royal adulterer,—if he found bishops in multitudes who would consecrate a layman, and support him when consecrated, and rather separate the east from the west than undo their crime,—so, when Queen Elizabeth withdrew the jurisdiction she had conferred on her primate, Grindal, his suffragans are found to approach her throne with petitions for his restora-

tion, and a humble confession, that "We, whom *you* have set over the government of the Church, when we quit your majesty, have no human thing which we can hope will even for a day avert the calamity hanging over our necks and heads."—Cardwell's Annals, i. 391.

Thus the national spirit of the Greeks against the Latins, and the natural hatred of the State and the Church, are found during many centuries playing into each other's hands, and consummating at last a schism more fatal and lasting than the Anglican separation of 1534 and 1559.

Mr. Appleyard shows, with much ability, that the patriarch of Constantinople was, from the beginning, the ecclesiastical representative and expression of this double national and state hostility to the principle of unity, and divinely appointed governor of the Church, the successor of St. Peter. He thus sums up his first chapter:

"I have traced an outline of the fortunes of the ancient republic of Byzantium, and of the rapid steps by which the Church of the metropolis, its proud successor, ascended from the lowest to the highest grade of splendour and dominion. The reader will call to mind that before a single stone was laid of Constantinople, the Churches of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, were the chief members of the Christian republic, commanding the veneration of the faithful by the heroic conflicts for the faith of which they had been the scenes, for the scholars whom they sent forth from their seats of learning, in the dispensations of charity and mercy to the poor, the widow, and the orphan, of which they had been the never-failing sources; and he will judge for himself, whether the swift promotion, which, in little more than fifty years elevated the youngest member of the episcopal college over the heads of three patriarchs, and in about fifty more, placed him on a level with the fourth, *in whom by common consent in all times before a primacy was acknowledged to reside*,—whether this extraordinary rise was a legitimate development of Church principle, or the arbitrary act of imperial despotism."

The following is Mr. Appleyard's view of the Church's government at the time of the first general council; and no one, we must observe, can take such a view without having a *duty to fulfil consequent upon it*:

"At the commencement of the fourth century, the Church presented the appearance of a vast organised body, spreading her branches far and wide over the Roman empire, and interlacing with a network of her own, every order of the state, and every gradation of society. *Of this great free confederacy the Bishop of Rome was the*

*acknowledged head.* From Rome the large portion of the west had received the gospel; from Rome, the common interests of Christianity, through the whole extent of the Roman empire, could best be advanced. The Roman bishops, heads of the wealthiest community, were early distinguished and known in the most distant lands for their liberal benefactions to their christian brethren, and a common interest bound all the communities of the Roman empire to the Church of the great capital: in Rome was the *Ecclesia Apostolica*, to which the largest portion of the west could appeal, as to their common mother.....At this epoch, the Church, having the Bishop of Rome her virtual head, defender of the faith, and guardian of her liberties, became united to the State; the emperor, supreme in the latter, claiming the same authority in the former also."—pp. 11—12.

Within twenty years after the State had become in some sense Christian, and the emperors, accordingly, interfered in matters of faith, we have the injurious influence of nationalism on the unity of the Church thus set forth:

"The partition of the Roman world between the sons of Constantine, on the death of that great prince, and the subsequent—with occasional intervals of re-union—continued separation into the eastern and western empires, almost unavoidably upon a state theory, broke up the visible unity of the Church; subjects entered into the quarrels of their sovereigns; national distinctions grew up; intercourse was often interrupted; old grudges were studiously preserved, aggravated, and embittered. Literature, singular to say of two nations so highly polished, ceased to diffuse its humanizing influences. The Latins, on principle, learnt no Greek; and the Greeks, on principle, learnt no Latin."—p. 12.

A century later, anticipating the domineering tyranny of Justinian in spiritual matters,—

"The emperor Zeno, at the instance, as supposed, of Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, in 482, published the *Henoticon*, or Deed of Union; in which, proclaiming himself master and legislator in matters of faith, he decreed that no symbol other than that of Nice, with the additions of the council of 381, should be received. He condemned Nestorianism and Eutychianism, but made very slight mention of the council of Chalcedon. The emperor and his advisers imagined that, without prejudice to their dogmatical differences, the Catholics and Monophysites might, by this edict, be induced to renew communion with each other. The emperor Zeno died in his bed. There is some satisfaction in knowing this. In strict right, he had no business to put forth the *Henoticon* in that autocratic fashion at all; still the edict was good. Zeno was not torn to pieces; the *Henoticon* was. The

instant it appeared, the high Catholic world fell upon it tooth and nail. Those halcyon days of peace, the day-dream of the imperial counsellors, vanished before the abhorrent spectacle of confusion worse confounded. In 484, Pope Felix, in a synod of seventy bishops, to give a practical refutation to the legislative pretensions of the emperor in questions of faith, passed sentence of deposition on Acacius, at whose door, whether justly or not, the merit or the demerit of the Henoticon was laid."—p. 18.

It is curious to mark how exactly the state instinct of an emperor of Constantinople in 482, and of an English Privy Council in 1850, coincide. And the Henoticon of this latter, proclaiming that the clergy of the same Church may believe and teach according to their private opinion that baptism regenerates or does not regenerate, seems likely to be followed by similarly happy results in the communion subject to it.

Mr. Appleyard himself suggests another parallel with English history, in the furious persecutions and confiscations of the Iconoclastic emperors:

"In reading the doings of Constantine Copronymus, we almost feel transported to comparatively modern times. The religious houses, with their rich libraries, were either burnt or converted into barracks; the monks were compelled to lay aside their habits, and marry, or fly to foreign lands; his own patriarch, who had hitherto obeyed his every will, was deposed, and soon after executed; the fury of the populace was permitted and encouraged to wreak itself, not only on the representations, but even on the relics, of the saints, which were either burnt, or cast into the sea. Nothing was allowed to be set up but the cross only. From 726 to 784, there was suspension of communion between the Greek and Latin Churches.....In 789 peace was restored. Quiet lasted twenty-nine years. In 816, Leo the Armenian, by an imperial decree, prohibited, as contrary to the law of God, all honour paid to images. A renewal of the former tumults and excesses ensued; the sacred images were again broken in pieces and burnt; the vessels of the church on which any figure had been formed, were destroyed. All who refused to submit were scourged; many suffered the loss of their tongues; banishment and confiscation of property were considered the mildest chastisements. Bishops and monks suffered torture unto death, or were frequently tied in sacks and cast into the sea. The mere possession of a religious picture, or of a book defending the use of images, the reception of an exile, or an act of mercy exercised towards a prisoner, brought with it the heaviest punishment."—pp. 21—22.

This outburst of eastern Protestantism in the eighth century met with resistance from that same sacred power of St. Peter's see, against which the fury of western Protestantism let loose all its malignity. St. Peter's voice tore in pieces the Henoticon, and branded its devisers with the mark of heresy; rebuked emperors who meddled with that faith of which God had raised them up to be obedient sons; restored honour and veneration to the images and pictures of our Lord and His saints; maintained and re-established that whole divine sacramental system—that virtue going forth from the hem of the garment of our incarnate Lord—against which the rationalism of the eighth and the sixteenth centuries rose up in arms. And in the nineteenth century that power is living still, more than ever watchful, with the experience of a hundred contests against error, and the majesty of a hundred victories over it, ready and anxious to bless, to instruct, and to unite kings and nations, but able, too, if stern necessity so require, to protect the faith of Christ as well against the fury of a mob, as against the seduction of a court.

The author well touches on the root of that remarkable abhorrence of symbolic worship, which is one characteristic of the great anti-Christian movement in the sixteenth century.

"There exists in the minds of most Protestants a strong repugnance to the devotional use of pictures and carved representations. This repugnance springs from a most virtuous and holy source, an impression, that to put material objects to such an use is a violation of the second commandment; yet a distinguished Protestant of our own days, a man remarkable for clearness and vigour of mind, thought very differently. 'The second commandment,' writes the late lamented Dr. Arnold of Rugby, 'is in the letter utterly done away with by the fact of the incarnation. To refuse, then, the benefit which we might derive from the frequent use of the crucifix, under the pretext of the second commandment, is a folly, because God has sanctioned one conceivable similitude of Himself, when He declared Himself in the person of Christ.'—*Life*, vol. i. The ignorance of the very elementary truths of the gospel existing in our population is notorious; could this have been so great had the sacred rood remained, as it ought to have done, in our churches? That most touching scene in the Saviour's passion, when from the cross He spake to the mother who bare Him, and the beloved disciple weeping at His feet, 'Woman, behold thy Son,'

—'Behold thy mother,' in how many instances would not that moving history, that had riveted the eyes of the child, have been remembered by the man? a heavenly vision passing and repassing before him; soother in the hour of sorrow; quickener to the affectionate performance of filial and parental duties; inspirer of a hope that maketh not ashamed, and a faith that faileth not, by the vivid evidence of human sympathy united to divine power."—p. 23.

We have seen Mr. Appleyard's frank admission, that the primacy of the Roman see stands confessed at the end of those three centuries in which the Church, not being yet in union with the State, was free to act according to her inward principles. The following is his summary of the conduct of the Popes during the seven succeeding centuries, which are terminated by the Greek schism:

"In a gradual separation (between the east and west) going on through many centuries, in which so many different causes concurred, and such a variety of actors appeared and disappeared on the scenes, it is scarcely possible to determine the effect due to a distinct cause, or the share of blame justly attributed to each individual. But a succession of persons stand out from the rest, commanding our undivided attention; to judge them fairly, we must place ourselves in their position, and see with their eyes. The theory by which the conduct of the Popes was regulated was this, that they were the divinely appointed heads of the Church Catholic, the chartered guardians of her rights and liberties. What a single bishop was to his own diocese, such they deemed themselves to be to the whole Christian world. They laid to their own hearts and consciences those awful words, 'I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at His appearing, and His kingdom, preach the word; be instant in season and out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine.'" I am no thick-and-thin advocate; I do not take upon myself to say, that the sovereign Pontiff never interposed unnecessarily; that the spiritual arms which they wielded were never rashly nor unjustifiably employed; but I cannot help feeling persuaded, that the reader who will examine dispassionately the line of conduct which the Popes pursued in the unhappy divisions and dissensions which so often distracted the Church, will find that they generally acted with firmness and moderation;—that they rarely resorted to extreme measures till there was no choice left them;—that the sentence of condemnation, so far from being irrevocable, was almost always mitigated, and often revoked, on the repentance and submission of the offender."—p. 35.



The passages we have quoted supply ample proof of Mr. Appleyard's candour and liberality of judgment. We feel persuaded, that nothing would tempt him consciously to suppress or distort a fact, in order to defend a cause; and this, considering the subject on which he ventures, is very high and uncommon praise. But we have said that there was one fatal defect, which marred many excellent qualities in his writings; and we will proceed, however unwillingly, to say a word on this, first noting a weakness, which, in part, we conceive springs from it. He not only strives to be fair to all parties, but he is sometimes even tender to those on whom a judgment, which ought to be respected by all Christians, has issued an inexorable sentence of condemnation. We will not complain if he speaks of "good Archbishop Abbot," little sympathy as we can feel with that ruthless, mischievous, Puritan; but to a very discriminating character of the great heresiarch Arius, he appends the following: "I cheerfully subscribe to the opinion of a distinguished Church writer, just lost to the world, that Arius, in the first instance, *never intended to put forth any tenet contrary to Catholic doctrine. He claimed a latitude commensurate with the language of the Scriptures, and refused to be bound closer than the Bible bound him.*"—p. 63. And this is said of a man, who, from the first to the last, made the Son of God a creature! And one would think that Mr. Appleyard felt inclined to justify, which we are sure he does not, those "who claim a latitude commensurate with the language of the Scriptures, and refuse to be bound closer than the Bible bound them," for the very purpose of annihilating the true interpretation of the Bible. This has been the very chosen pretext of heresy from the beginning. No error can be found which more directly impugns the very ground-work of Christianity than Arianism; yet if it were sufficient to use the language of the Scriptures, and express belief in the "Son of God," with the reservation in one's own breast of the sense in which He is believed to be the "Son of God," it would be impossible to extirpate Arianism. Really, we can only rank this gentleness towards heretics with the mawkish compassion felt by some of the public towards murderers. The latter springs from an inadequate sense of sin in moral crime; the former from an inadequate sense of the exclusive obedience due to dogmatic truth. If Protestantism were to triumph,

it would efface both the notion of sin, and the notion of truth. It shrinks from God as the righteous Judge, nor can it bear Him as the absolute Verity. And thus, while crime is softened by it into malady, and assassins are judged to be insane, heresy becomes an act of conscience, and the worst denials of revealed truth are but the necessary workings of private judgment.

How, then, is it possible, that a man should express of the papal authority the belief we have above quoted from Mr. Appleyard, and yet remain in a system which is the direct antagonist of that authority? Is it not because in this seemingly liberal and true appreciation of the Church's history, and of the doctrines disputed in these latter ages, the writer puts himself as a judge and a standard of truth, and not as one bound to be obedient to that truth, when found, yes, to sacrifice to it, if need be, all that is dear to the natural heart? He sees, he loves, he admires, he offers the homage of praise, he seems to be with the very voice and mien of charity, "bearing all things, believing all things, hoping all things, enduring all things," in his judgment of men and things; but it is all as an eclectic, as one picking out here a fine character, and there a true doctrine, putting together his own fancy of ante-Nicene and post-Nicene times of medieval and modern Church history; but not reflecting that there is an infinite responsibility resting upon all this, infinite as the soul's eternity. He is not to be truth's master, but its servant: it is not enough to deplore the evils of separation, if one continues a separatist. If the Papacy be what he has described it, it claims his *obedience*. We may erect ourselves into judges of the Church in past ages; but in doing so, even when most extolling the truth, we put ourselves in the position of its masters: it is, as it were, a function of our own minds. Woe to us if we forget that the living Church has the claim of a parent over us, and that he cannot be a child of God who has not that living Church—the Church of to-day, which energises before his eyes—for his mother.

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ART. III.—*Handbook of London, Past and Present.* By PETER CUNNINGHAM, F.S.A. Second edition. London: Murray, 1850.

WHEN Parliament rose last summer, a stranger might have imagined that a weariness of life had seized the fashionable denizens of the great Metropolis; or that some pestilence or war had rendered it unfit for aristocratic habitation. Men were seen turning away listlessly from the Clubs and the Operas, and dreaming of the Solent or the Highlands,—or concocting schemes for over-running Europe; while the fairer portion of creation looked as if balls and fetes were among the pleasures of memory rather than of hope. The Peer of the Realm satiated with blue books, had taken to Mr. Murray's red ones, and under their guidance had fled from politics and St. Stephen, to other pursuits and other scenes. The County member, in spite of his *vis inertiae*, had been carried off by his enterprising wife and restless daughters "up the Rhine," and was drawing from sour crout and sourer wines, strong confirmation of his faith that "there is no place like home." The merchant, to whom the city gives no rest, had encamped his wife and six children for the summer at Brighton or Hastings, and was managing, under the auspices of a return ticket, to pass his Sundays where he shines most, "*au sein de sa famille.*" Even Themis herself had gone out of town, posting a notice on her door that she would not return till the end of October. Her black brood had followed her example; and puisne judges, nisi-prius advocates, chancery barristers, and special pleaders, might have been found far away from the scene of their toils and gains, seeking in other climes an atmosphere untainted by "pleading" or "practice." Never was London so deserted. The Park was a wilderness; Regent Street was asleep; Piccadilly was silent as the tomb. Paving Commissioners and Sewers Commissioners, Water Companies and Gas Companies, had seized and torn up the principal thoroughfares of the town,—as they are wont to do in September—and had raised up barricades and dug trenches equally obstructive of locomotion. Legions of housepainters had invaded the Clubs, and turned out the few *blasés* who were still lurking about them. Old shops were discarding their "ancient lights," and adorning themselves with modern plate glass and mahogany window-frames. Everywhere work-

men and artisans were busy, like the carpenters of a theatre between the acts, in preparing for the forthcoming scene. In every quarter the knell of the past season, and the note of preparation for the coming one, rang in our ears.

And now we are on the eve of that long expected time. The season of 1851 is at hand and already we may hear the distant sound of the multitudes who are flocking hither from every part of the world to witness the inauguration of the Temple which has been raised to Commerce, by the zeal, we had almost said by the magic arts, of its worshippers. The number of provincial and foreign visitors who are to arrive in London between the months of May and October next, has been roundly estimated at, we are afraid to say how many millions; and even if such estimates be not quite free from that exaggeration with which vivid imaginations and excited hopes have tinged most calculations connected with the Exhibition, it may be safely asserted that at no period in the history of the world, will so many human beings have congregated to one spot in an equal space of time. In the daily expectation of visitors from every part of the known world, it may not unnaturally occur to the Londoner to ask himself what lions he shall shew them when they arrive. For all visitors are, like Mr. Gordon Cumming, lion hunters; and they will certainly demand of their hosts some gratification of that universal taste. The crystal palace, to say nothing of its marvellous contents, will no doubt rank foremost on the list of places worth visiting: but the life of wonders, however great, is, after all, proverbially limited to a few days; and men who have never seen before, and never expect to see again, the chief city of our Empire and the metropolis of the commercial world, will expect to see some other memorials of the greatness, the power, the taste, or the piety of ourselves and our ancestors. While Rome and Greece, Egypt and India, preserve imperishable monuments of the early ages of the world; while almost every old town in Europe contains some specimens, if not of classic, at least of mediæval art; nothing remains in the English capital, except *names*, to mark the spot where some old building stood, or some event in history occurred.

What shall be shown to the Italian, the Frenchman, the German, and the Spaniard, in return for the glorious monuments of classic, Christian and Oriental genius,

with the sight of which their ancient towns repay our visits? This is a question which the worthy citizens of London may find more easily asked than answered. In the first place, London does not possess many palpable relics of the past. The great fire of 1666, destroyed nearly the whole of the city, properly so called. It laid waste three hundred and thirty-six acres of land, and reduced to ashes upwards of 13,000 houses, and ten millions worth of property. This frightful catastrophe swept away almost all the churches and monasteries which had been the pride and ornament of the capital of the Plantagenets; and the loss was irreparable in that debased state of art which followed the Reformation in this country, and which has been a reproach to our nation down to the present time. But although London in this respect, forms a sad contrast to Rome and Athens, enough remains within its ambit to interest and amuse. If it can afford but little interest to the artist, it can give much to all who are not destitute of that retrospective instinct which attaches man to the past. From the days of its old Saxon Hanse, or corporation, to those of its train bands; and down to George the Third's reign and Alderman Beckford's Speech, its annals form part of the national history. And it is to history alone, and not to art, that London looks for whatever means it possesses of interesting the antiquarian. The angelic being of the German story, who once in five hundred years visited a place which he found, the first time a forest, the next, a sea-coast, and the third a populous city,—was assured on each occasion by some dweller on the spot, that it had always existed in the same state as he then saw it; and undoubtedly if he should come to the Exhibition this year, he will find many to tell him that the London of to-day is much the same as the London of the Roses and of the Conquest. Nevertheless, hardly a spot on the face of the earth has undergone so many changes; although none possess fewer objects calculated to recall the memory of them. The history, however, of its holes and corners, the biography of its streets, and the obituary of its houses, have a charm to which few can be insensible. If the houses in which our ancestors dwelt, the churches in which they worshipped, and the walls behind which they fought, no longer exist, their names at least haunt the ground on which they stood; and every spot is hallowed by associations with the

deeds, habits, and lives of our forefathers. In short, with a well stored memory and tolerable imaginative powers, the London of our Charleses and Henrys, and even of our Edwards and Williams, may be conjured up from the grave, notwithstanding the ravages of fire, and what has been sometimes equally merciless, modern improvement.

In the next place, the inhabitants of this, like those of all other great cities, know less of the objects of interest which it contains, than the stranger who visits it for a fortnight. Crowds of them pass long lives in the densest of its smoke, and yet know less of the curiosities or antiquities which it may possess, than the bearded foreigners whom excursion trains disgorge weekly in thousands on its streets. It is true, our's is a mercantile country, and that most of our sights are only to be seen for money. Westminster Abbey costs sixpence, the Tower a shilling, and as for St. Paul's Cathedral,

*"Non cuivis hominum contingit adire Corinthum."*

We are not all blessed with sufficient affluence to afford a view of that great temple of the "Poor man's Church." And possibly the tax thus imposed on the gratification of ennobling and purifying tastes may have repressed their cultivation among a people more characterized by the practical love of the good, than by an over keen perception of the beautiful. The plodding tradesman or clerk who travels daily from a suburban cottage to his shop or counting-house in the city, cares little for the history of the streets through which he passes, or of the buildings into which duty or pleasure takes him; he cares only that the former are well paved, cleansed, and lighted, and that the latter afford a certain amount of accommodation and comfort. In the familiar objects, therefore, which daily meet his eyes, he sees nothing but unmeaning masses of stone and wood, which awaken no other emotions than such as a shop window or an advertising van can excite. Imagine him starting from Hyde Park corner to the Bank, perched on the roof of an omnibus, in company with a foreign friend or two, to whom he wishes to do the honours of the place. He will no doubt bespeak their applause for the Duke of Wellington's statue on his right hand, and the Duke of Wellington's house on his left. He will then proceed down Piccadilly without meeting any object to arrest his attention except a distant view of Westminster

Abbey, and Buckingham Palace, and the announcement of some miles of panorama at the Egyptian Hall. Should the Duke of York's column catch his eye, it may set him to calculating how many shillings in the pound the cost of its erection would have paid his Royal Highness' creditors; and its unfinished neighbour in Trafalgar Square may prove to his companions that the reign of flunkeyism is not yet ended in a country where Princes have precedence of heroes. The pigtailed monarch in Pall Mall will excite a smile, and perhaps a glance may be thrown upwards to see whether the Duke of Northumberland's copy of Michael Angelo's lion looks east or west. A little further on, as he passes Exeter Hall, he will think of the three Christian Graces, Faith, Hope, and Charity—personified, perhaps, by the three interlaced and seductive figures of Cumming, M'Neile, and Rochfort Clarke; and of whig commissions, and stamps and taxes, as his eye rests on Somerset House. He may be delayed opposite the open tower of St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet Street, by an interminable line of waggons and omnibuses; and after winding round the expensive show-house of the metropolitan Dean and Chapter, he will at last reach the Bank. And he will reach it without having been able to point out to his companions one single object or one single spot during his journey which conjured up the memory of the ancient occupants of his home.

That his road, however, was not wholly devoid of interest, may be collected by a glance at its past history; as we now propose to shew, mainly under the auspices of Mr. Cunningham, who has collected within the limits of the moderate sized volume, whose title is prefixed to this article, a mass of amusing information upon the past as well as the present state of the metropolis.

The very corner of the Park from which our citizen started, is not without a history of its own. Here in 1642 the citizens of London, apprehensive of the approach of Charles I., erected a fort with four bastions, at which, Hudibras tells us,

"From ladies down to oyster-wenches,  
Labour'd like pioneers in the trenches."

From the scene of military preparation, it became the reward of military valour, and the retreat of military repose. Not that the Duke of Wellington is the first vete-

ran who found on that spot good quarters in the winter of his life, for

"From the middle of the reign of George II. till the erection of Apsley House in 1784," by Henry, Earl Bathurst and Baron Apsley, who was Lord Chancellor, and afterwards President of the Council of Lord North's administration, "the small entrance gateway was flanked on its east side by a poor tenement known as 'Allen's stall.' Allen, whose wife kept a moveable apple-stall at the Park entrance, was recognized by George II. as an old soldier at the battle of Dettingen, and asked (so pleased was the king at meeting the veteran) what he could do for him? Allen, after some hesitation, asked for a piece of ground for a permanent apple-stall at Hyde Park Corner, and a grant was made to him of a piece of ground, which his children afterwards sold to Apsley"—Mr. Cunningham means "Henry"—"Lord Bathurst."—*Hand-book*, tit. Hyde Park Corner.

Of the park itself, we are informed that it was anciently the Manor of Hyde, and the property of the Benedictines of Westminster, until Henry VIII. obtained it and the adjoining manor of Neyte, together with the advowson of Chelsea, in exchange for the priory of Henley in Berkshire. Henry did not often acquire church property by "exchange," and this instance of his condescending to so common-place a method of acquisition is perhaps worth recording for its singularity.

How or why Piccadilly came by its name is a question which has puzzled etymologists; and no satisfactory origin of the term has yet been given. The first mention of it as a street is in the rate books of St. Martin's parish under the year 1673, at which time it extended westward only as far as Sackville Street. In the middle of last century the part between Hyde Park Corner and Devonshire house was occupied by statuaries and stone-masons, and presented much the same appearance as the new road between Portland Place and Tottenham Court Road now does. The Coventry Club (No. 106) stands on the site of an old Inn called The Greyhound, which was bought by the Earl of Coventry in 1764. Houses in this quarter fetched good prices even then, it seems; for we are told that his Lordship paid 10,000 guineas for his purchase.

Exactly facing St. James's Palace the great Lord Clarendon built the stately mansion which drew upon him that "gust of envy" which led to his downfall. He died in Dec.



1674; and in the following year his sons sold Clarendon House to the second Duke of Albemarle, who was soon compelled by his difficulties to part with it. Sir Thomas Bond, Comptroller of Henrietta Maria's household, became the purchaser. The house was taken down, and Albemarle and Old Bond Streets were raised on its site. Two Corinthian pilasters in the gateway of the Three Kings' Stables, Piccadilly, are supposed to have belonged to Clarendon house, and are probably the only existing remains of that edifice.

At the corner of Windmill Street and Coventry Street, one Robert Baker erected, early in the seventeenth century, Piccadilly Hall, "a fair house for entertainment and gaming;" Clarendon tells us, \* "with handsome gravel walks with shade, and where were an upper and lower bowling-green, whither very many of the nobility and gentry of the best quality resorted, both for exercise and conversation." The Tennis Court in James's Street, Haymarket, was attached to this once celebrated gaming house. Its last proprietor was Colonel Panton, whose name survives in a square and street adjoining Coventry Street. This Colonel Panton was a notorious gamester, in the reign of Charles II.; but, more fortunate than most of his craft, he won in one night enough money to purchase property worth £1,500 a-year; and wisely satisfied with his gain, he foreswore gambling, lived upon his estate, and from the hour of his good luck to that of his death, which occurred in 1681, never touched die or card.

The names of Arlington, Jermyn, Burlington, Dover, Berkeley, Clifford, &c., borne by streets adjoining Piccadilly, remind the passer-by of the days of Charles II.; but for further particulars respecting them, we must refer to the handbook. The first-mentioned street was inhabited, after the death of the "gay monarch," by his Duchess of Cleveland, whose name still survives in Cleveland Row; and in the following century by Sir Robert Walpole.

Mr. Cunningham informs us in his preface, that he has had access to the records of White and Brooks's clubs; and his account of those celebrated establishments tempt us to turn from Piccadilly into St. James's Street. White's, Nos. 37 and 38, is the successor of White's

\* Hist. of Rebellion, i. 422, ed. 1826.



Chocolate House, which was established about A.D. 1698, five doors from the bottom of the western side of the street, and burnt down in 1733; at which time it was kept by Arthur, who founded and gave his name to the club, at No. 69.

"The incident of the fire was made use of by Hogarth in plate 6 of the *Rake's Progress*, and representing a room at White's. The total abstraction of the gamblers is well expressed by their utter inattention to the alarm of fire given by watchmen who are bursting open the doors. Plate 4 of the same pictured moral, represents a group of chimney-sweepers and shoe-blacks, gambling on the ground over against White's. To indicate the club more fully, Hogarth has inserted the name Black's."—*Handbook*, Tit. White's Club-House.

The Chocolate house ceased to be open to the public in 1736, when it was appropriated exclusively to the chief frequenters of the place, and supported by annual subscriptions.

"It was at this time, and long after, essentially a gaming club. The most fashionable, as well as the common people, dined at an early hour, and a supper was then an indispensable meal. White's became a great supper house, where gaming, both before and after, was carried on to a late hour and heavy amounts. The least difference of opinion invariably ended in a bet, and a book for entering the particulars of all bets was always laid upon the table; one of these, with entries of a date as early as 1744, has been preserved. The marriage of a young lady of rank would occasion a bet of a hundred guineas, that she would give birth to a live child before the Countess of ———, who had been married three or even more months before her. Heavy bets were pending, that Arthur, then a widower, would be married before a member of the club of about the same age, and also a widower; that Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, would outlive the old Duchess of Cleveland; that Colley Cibber would outlive both Beau Nash, and old Mr. Swinney; and that a certain minister would cease to be in the cabinet by a certain time."

Brook's club, on the opposite side of the street, (No 60,) appears, from its early title, to have been an offshoot of White's. It was founded in 1764, and was at one time called Almack's, from the person who first founded it; and afterwards Brook's, from a wine merchant and money-lender, who subsequently had the management of it. That it also was a gaming-club, sufficiently appears from the following rules, by which it was ordered,

"That every person playing at the new quinze table do keep fifty guineas before him.

"That every person playing at the twenty guinea table do not keep less than twenty guineas before him."

This club is more celebrated perhaps than any other for the number of distinguished, and even great, men whom it has counted among its members. The names of Fox, Selwyn, Garrick, Horace Walpole, Hume, Gibbon, Burke, Reynolds, and Sheridan, figure prominently among the members of Brook's.

St. James's Street was, we believe, "the road leading to Tyburn," or, "the road near the house of St. James's," where the ancient fair was kept which Edward I. granted in 1290 to the Leper Hospital of St. James's, upon the site of which the palace of that name now stands. The fair was kept for a week, from St. James's eve (24th July) every year, until suppressed by the long parliament. It was revived at the Restoration; but the days of metropolitan fairs were even then drawing to a close. It was found to attract, not the buyers and sellers for whose accommodation it had, like all other fairs, been originally instituted, but the idle, the profligate, and the dangerous classes, who, by some strange law of sequence, appear always to step into the places which the votaries of commerce vacate. St. James's fair had passed into the latter phase of its existence even before the puritans abolished it; and the excesses which were renewed upon its revival were too scandalous even for Charles, who finally put it down.

Henry VIII. became the possessor of the hospital in the same year that he became the husband of Anne Boleyn; and he quickly diverted it from its ancient "superstitious" use to that "charitable" one which begins and ends at home. He enclosed the adjoining St. James's fields, and stocked them with game; and at the Whitehall end of them built a tilt-yard—on the parade opposite the Horseguards—and a cock-pit. Thus was formed St. James's Park, which he left an expanse of grass, with a few trees and a number of small ponds scattered over its surface at irregular intervals. Charles II. threw the ponds (except Rosamond's pond, in the south-west corner of the park, "long consecrated to disastrous love and elegiac poetry," and filled up in 1770), into one continuous sheet of water: planted the long avenues of trees, and made the strait walks which the commissioners of woods and forests have

not yet destroyed. Pall Mall, which was then included in the park and formed its northern boundary, was dedicated to the fashionable game of Pale-maille.

"A game wherein a round bowle (or ball, *palla*,) is with a mallet (*maglia*) struck through a high arch of iron standing at either end of an alley, which he that can do at the fewest blows, or at the number agreed on, wins."—Handbook, tit. Pall Mall, citing Blount's *Glossographia*.

It appears, however, that houses had then already sprung up along Pall Mall, and its exclusion from the park was one of the improvements which Charles II. effected in that locality.

George I., who had probably been taught in his native land the great ducal axiom, that a man has a right to do what he likes with his own, appears to have been but indifferently satisfied with the sense in which his half republican insular subjects understood the park to be *his own*.

"This is a strange country," he said, (in good German, probably, for his majesty did not speak English,) "the first morning after my arrival at St. James's, I looked out of the window and saw a park with walls, a canal, &c., which they told me was mine. The next day Lord Chetwynd, the ranger of *my* park, sent me a fine brace of carp out of my canal, and I was told I must give five guineas to Lord Chetwynd's servant for bringing me *my own* carp out of *my own* canal in *my own* park."—Handbook, tit. St. James's Park.

Mr. Cunningham reminds us that this is the Park which George II.'s Queen, Caroline, wished to shut up and convert into a garden for St. James's Palace. Upon inquiring of Sir Robert Walpole what might be the probable cost of carrying her plan into execution, the great Whig statesman bluntly replied: "Only three crowns." The family knot of politicians who at the present day claim the exclusive possession of the traditions and honours of Whiggery, appear, however, to believe that the obsequiousness of the courtier is better calculated to secure their hold of office than the honest vindication of a public right. They did not hesitate, therefore, with the little cunning and petty fraudulency which has made even their political supporters ashamed of them, to obtain, by the pretence of needing a simple iron railing for Buckingham Palace, the sanction of a thin and wearied House of Commons, late in the last session, to a plan for the adornment

of the palace, which not only was to be executed at the expense, but was to be carried into effect by a gross encroachment upon the property, of the public. Whatever be the merits or the fate of this "improvement," it will always be remembered as a characteristic specimen of that "jobbery" which has ever been the distinguishing vice and disgrace of the family faction. Courtiers alternately of prince and peasant; now advocates of coercion, now traders in patriotism; to-day the supporters of penal laws, to-morrow the assertors of the rights of conscience; at one moment basking in the smiles of despotism, at another toying with the terrors of anarchy; they have veered round every point of the political compass, and have kept true to but one principle, the love of place. That these unworthy successors of Walpole, however, should have, not boldly invaded, but basely filched, public property, need excite no surprise, when their chief is seen patching up a damaged popularity with the rags of No-Popery, and atoning for his past desertion of the Jews, by abetting street riots against his own Church.

At the north eastern extremity, St. James's Park abutted upon the garden and bowling green which was attached to the Palace of Whitehall. "A jet or spring of water, which sprung from the pressure of the foot, and wetted whoever was foolish or ignorant enough to tread upon it," gave its name to this garden, which was in the height of its glory in the days of the first Charles.

"There was kept in it an ordinary of six shillings a meal, (when the king's proclamation allows but two elsewhere,) continual bibbling and drinking wine all day under the trees; two or three quarrels every week."—Handbook tit. Spring Gardens, citing Strafford papers.

These and worse disorders led to the gardens being "put down" by Charles I. They were, however, again opened, probably when the civil wars were turning the attention of men to more exciting topics than police regulations; but they were closed by the Protector, and the ground was built upon shortly after the Restoration, when the entertainments were removed to a manor in Surrey, which once belonged to Fulke de Breauté, a follower of King John, and which was, after him, called Fulke's, or Fauke's, Hall, or, as we now call it, Vauxhall.

Emerging from these old Spring Gardens, through New

Street, we find ourselves in the rendezvous of the architectural and sculptural abominations of modern art. Here once stood the grandest of the nine crosses which Edward I. erected in honour of his queen, Eleanor, on the several spots where her body rested on its way from Lincoln to Westminster Abbey. Two of the nine alone now remain—at Northampton and Waltham. The Charing Cross was pulled down in 1647, by order of the Long Parliament, and the stones were used to pave the street in front of Whitehall. General Harrison, Colonel Jones, Hugh Peters, and others of the regicides, were executed in 1660, "at the railing where Charing Cross stood."

Beyond it, and connecting it with Temple Bar, lies the Strand. In olden times, when the citizens of London left its walls, to take an evening stroll to St. Clement's well, (now in Clement's Inn,) the Strand was an open country road, along the left bank of the Thames, leading from Temple Bar to the village or hamlet of Charing. It was not paved until 1532, in which year (24 Henry VIII.) it was enacted that, "the street between Charing Cross and Strand Cross, shall be sufficiently paved, at the charge of the owners of the lands; and the pavement being made, it shall be maintained by the owners of the land adjoining to the same, upon pain of forfeiture to the king of sixpence for every yard square not paved or repaired." A house adjoining the Duke of Northumberland's was long the official residence of the Secretary of State. Sir Harry Vane lived in it in the reign of Charles I., and Mr. Secretary Nicholas in that of Charles II.

But the Strand is memorable chiefly for having been the residence of our bishops in olden times. "Anciently," says Selden, in his table talk, "the noblemen lay within the city for safety and security, but the bishops' houses were by the water side, because they were held sacred persons whom nobody would hurt." "As many as nine bishops," adds Mr. Cunningham, "possessed inns or hostels on the south, or water side of the present Strand, at the period of the Reformation." Villiers Street, Buckingham Street, and the other streets which together are known as York Buildings, are the site of Norwich House, the ancient Inn of the Bishops of Norwich, afterwards the residence of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Henry the Eighth's brother-in-law. It became

York House when Heath, Archbishop of York, and Queen Mary's chancellor, obtained it in exchange for Suffolk House, which had been granted to him by the queen in lieu of that other York House which Henry VIII. had taken from Cardinal Wolsey, upon his disgrace, and had converted into Whitehall. Heath's successors in the province, appear to have leased it to the Lord Keepers of the Great Seal. Here Lord Keeper Pickering, and Lord Keeper Egerton died; here died also Sir Nicholas Bacon, another Lord Keeper. The same house saw the birth and disgrace of his illustrious son. In 1672, its last owner, the second Duke of Buckingham, sold it and its gardens for £30,000. to Roger Higgs, Esq., Emery Hill, gentleman, Nicholas Eddyn, woodmonger, and John Green, brewer, who pulled it down and covered the ground with the present streets and tenements. The only vestige of it now remaining, is Inigo Jones's beautiful water gate, at the end of Buckingham Street, called York Stairs.

Durham Street points out where Thomas Hatfield, Bishop of Durham, built a town house, in 1345. It continued the property of the bishops of that see until the Reformation, when Bishop Tunstall gave it to Henry VIII. in exchange for Coldharbour House, the site of which is now occupied by Calvert's Brewery, in Upper Thames Street. Durham House was granted by Edward VI. to his sister, Elizabeth, and by her to Sir Walter Raleigh, from whom it was taken away in 1603, by James I. It subsequently passed to the Pembroke family, from whom it was purchased, in the early part of George the Third's reign, by the two Scotch architects, Robert and John Adam, who demolished it, and constructed on its site that embankment and pile of buildings which we know as the Adelphi.

Beaufort Buildings was formerly the site of the Bishop of Carlisle's town house; and not far from it stood the palace, which Peter, Earl of Savoy, and uncle of Henry the Third's wife, Eleanor, built in 1245, and afterwards bestowed on the fraternity of Mountjoy (*fratres de Monte Jovis*,) and which Queen Eleanor purchased of them for her second son, the Earl of Lancaster. Since his time it has remained part and parcel of the Earldom, afterwards the Duchy, of Lancaster. It was destroyed by Wat Tyler, in 1381, and although rebuilt in 1505 by Henry VII., who endowed it as a hospital for the



relief of one hundred poor, a chapel alone now remains to mark and name the place on which it once stood. The Inns of the Bishops of Llandaff, Chester, and Worcester, were swallowed up by the palace which the Protector Somerset erected on the site of the present Somerset house. The Bishops of Bath's house passed to the Arundel family in Edward the Sixth's time, and was the repository of the Arundelian marbles, until the grandson of their collector gave them to the university of Oxford. Arundel house was pulled down in 1678, and Arundel, Surry, and Norfolk Streets were built in its place.

Essex Street, which now leads to twopenny steamers and the Chinese junk, was formerly part of the outer Temple, the very name of which is now forgotten, although its neighbours, the Middle and Inner, remind us of their incompleteness without it. It became the property of the Priests and Canons of the Holy Sepulchre upon the suppression of the Templars, in the beginning of the fourteenth century; and in the reign of Edward III. was transferred to the bishops of Exeter, who established their town quarters there. At the great era of Church plunder, the mansion of those bishops passed into lay hands, and became successively the property of Elizabeth's favourites, the celebrated Leicester, and the equally celebrated Essex. The other Essex of history, the general of the long parliament, also inhabited it; and in the reign of Charles II. it was the dwelling of one of the great lawyers of the Restoration, Sir Orlando Bridgman, the lord keeper. A portion of the old fabric was standing as late as 1777.

When we enter the city we find that some of the bishops did not disdain the security which it afforded. Thus, Salisbury Square and Peterborough Court were the sites of the London houses of the bishops of those dioceses, and the Bishops of Bangor dwelt in Shoe Lane, out of which a lane now runs which preserves their title. Chichester Rents, a narrow alley out of Chancery Lane, reminds us that Lincoln's Inn was once the property of Ralph Neville, Chancellor of Henry III. and Bishop of Chichester; and that it was the residence of his successors in the see until the reign of Henry VII. The Bishops of Winchester were lords of the manor of Southwark, and their manorial residence, built in the beginning of the twelfth century, was their town house. The Bishops of Rochester were their neighbours, but no traces of Rochester

House or of its name remain. The residence of the Bishops of Ely stood on the site of Ely Place, Holborn; but its history is best told in Mr. Cunningham's own words:

"John de Kirkeby, Bishop of Ely, dying in 1290, bequeathed a messuage in Holborn and nine tenements adjoining, to his successors in the see. William de Luda, who succeeded him, added a further grant, 'with condition, that his next successor should pay 1,000 marks for the finding of three chaplains in the chapel there.' John de Hotham, another bishop, added a vineyard, kitchen-garden, and orchard. Thomas de Arundel, before he was translated to the See of York, in 1388, built 'a gate-house or front,' towards Holborn, and in Stow's time 'his arms were yet to be discovered on the stone-work thereof.' St. Ethelreda's Chapel, all that exists of the building, has a few good remains, and, as Rickman observes, 'one fine decorated window of curious composition.' This celebrated house (or rather, perhaps, the larger part of it) was occasionally let by the see to distinguished noblemen. In Ely Place, in 1399, died John of Gaunt, 'time honoured Lancaster.' From Ely Place, in Holborn, Henry Radclyff, Earl of Sussex, writes to his Countess, announcing the death of Henry VIII.; and in Ely Place, then the residence of the Earl of Warwick (afterwards Duke of Northumberland) the council met, and formed that remarkable conspiracy which ended in the execution of the Protector Somerset. A subsequent tenant was Sir Christopher Hatton (Queen Elizabeth's handsome Lord Chancellor), to whom the greater portion of the house was let in 1576, for the term of twenty-one years. The rent was a red rose, ten loads of hay, and ten pounds per annum. Bishop Cox, on whom this hard bargain was forced by the Queen, reserving to himself and his successors the right of walking in the gardens and gathering twenty bushels of roses yearly. Hatton (pleased with his acquisition) laid out £1,995 (about £6,000 of our money), in enlarging and improving the property he had leased, and was laying out more, when he petitioned Queen Elizabeth, to require the bishop to alienate to him the whole house and gardens. This, when Church lands were seized and alienated by the sovereign, was no unusual request, and the Queen wrote to the bishop, desiring him to demise the premises to her till such time as the See of Ely should reimburse Sir Christopher for the money he had laid out, and was still expending in the improvement of the property. The bishop, foreseeing the result, reminded the Queen that he ought to be a steward, not a scatterer, and that he could scarcely justify those princes who transferred things intended for pious purposes to purposes less pious. This remonstrance occasioned the following extraordinary letter to the bishop:

"'Proud Prelate! I understand you are backward in complying with your agreement, but I would have you to know, that I, who

made you what you are, can unmake you ; and if you do not forthwith fulfil your engagement, by God ! I will immediately unfrock you.—Yours, as you demean yourself, Elizabeth.'

"Further remonstrances were not to be thought of, and Ely Place, vineyard, meadow, kitchen-garden, and orchard, were demised to the crown, and by the crown made over to Sir Christopher Hatton. The bishop (Cox) who made the remonstrance, dying in 1581, the see of Ely was kept vacant by the Queen for eighteen years. In Hatton House, as Ely Place was now called (hence Hatton Garden), Sir Christopher Hatton died, November 20th, 1591, indebted to the crown in the sum of £40,000."—*Handbook*, tit. Ely Place.

The successors of Bishop Cox for nearly two centuries endeavoured to recover Ely Place ; and it was not until 1772 that their claim was finally adjusted. The property was transferred to the crown, charged with a perpetual annuity of £200, and a house was built in Dover Street for the bishops of the diocese.

If, in coming down the Strand, we had, instead of following the bishops to their homes, turned to the north side of that street, we should have found ourselves in the garden and vineyard which supplied the table of the ancient inmates of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Peter's Westminster. With the exception, however, of Covent Garden and Vinegar Yard, which still keep alive the memory of its ancient possessors, and Maiden Lane, which reminds the passer-by of the image of the B. V. which formerly stood there, the locality derives its various names from the family which grew great on the church's plunder. Southampton Street, called after Lady Rachel Russell, daughter of the Earl of Southampton, and wife of Lord William Russell, was the site of Bedford House, the residence, till 1704, of the Earls of Bedford. Along the back of its garden wall, which stood on the south side of the present market-place, a few temporary stalls and sheds gradually established themselves, and what the market was like, about 1698, we are told by Strype :

"The south side of Covent Garden Square lieth open to Bedford Garden, where there is a small grotto of trees, most pleasant in the summer season ; and on this side there is kept a market for fruits, herbs, roots, and flowers, every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, which is grown to a considerable account and well served with choice goods, which makes it much resorted unto."—*Handbook*, tit. Covent Garden Market.

Not far from Covent Garden, on the site of the Olympic Theatre, stood Drury House, built by Sir William Drury (1589), and afterwards the property of the Earls of Craven. From this house, the upper part of the "*via de Aldwych*" changed its name to Drury Lane, while the rest of it preserves to this day the last syllable of its ancient appellation. Within a few steps of it rises the church of St. Mary le Strand, on the spot where formerly stood a cross, at which, says Stow, "in the year 1294 and other times, the justices itinerant sat without London." We are not informed when it was removed; but its place was occupied as early as 1634, and down to 1718, by a May-pole, which in time gave way to the present church.

"Amid that area wide they took their stand,  
Where the tall May-pole once o'erlooked the Strand,  
But now (so Anne and piety ordain)  
A Church collects the saints of Drury Lane."

Pope.

But let us avoid Drury Lane, and steer our course eastward. In five minutes we shall emerge from narrow and squalid streets into Lincoln's Inn Fields. Mr. Cunningham rejects as apocryphal the story that Inigo Jones laid out this square, and gave the grass plot, now enclosed within rails, the precise dimensions of one of the pyramids of Gizeh. The place was infested by cripples, beggars, idle boys, wrestlers, horse-breakers, &c., down to 1735, when an act was obtained by the inhabitants to empower them to enclose and adorn the fields. Their old wooden posts and chains then made way for the present rails, and their disorderly frequenters adjourned to St. George's or Tothill fields. Here Ballard and Babington, and twelve other participators in the "*Babington Conspiracy*," against Elizabeth, were executed; and here, a century later, Lord William Russell was beheaded. Here also it was that Sir Joseph Jekyll,

"Odd old Whig,  
Who never changed his principles or wig,"

was thrown down and ill-treated by the populace, to whom he had made himself obnoxious by his gin act, (9 Geo. 2, c. 23.) The house at the corner of Great Queen Street, now belonging to "the Society for promoting christian knowledge," was built by the Marquis of Powis,

who was outlawed at the Revolution for his adherence to James II. It was afterwards inhabited by Lord Somers and Sir Nathan Wright, the Lord Keeper; and was at a later period purchased by George the Second's celebrated minister, the Duke of Newcastle.

Lincoln's Inn was, in the reign of Edward I., the mansion of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln. Its garden produced apples, cherries, nuts, pears, beans, onions, &c., in abundance; and, like the garden of Ely house, was famous for its roses. It became, as already mentioned, the property of the Bishops of Chichester, from whom it passed, in the reign of Henry VII. to Judge Suliard, whose descendant, in the time of Elizabeth, sold it to its present owners, the gentlemen Benchers of Lincoln's Inn. Long and brilliant is the array of those who sprang from these old walls into the arena of the world, and "achieved greatness." The peerage and red book, however, must be left to tell their histories; we have only room for the names of two great chiefs of two great republics—the bricklayer Ben Jonson, who worked with his trowel "on the garden wall next Chancery Lane," and the law student, Oliver Cromwell.

An obscure lane will lead us from Lincoln's Inn to Temple Bar. In James the First's time, it was called Rogue's Lane, and has recently assumed the title of Lower Serle's Place. But it is better known by the name which it will hold in history—Sheer, or Shire Lane, so called "because it divideth the city from the shire.\* Here, at the "Trumpet," met the Tatler's Club, and here, notwithstanding its proprietor's ominous name, Christopher Katt's pastry-cook's shop acquired its reputation for mutton pies, the nucleus of the Kit Kat club. That celebrated society consisted

"Of thirty-nine distinguished noblemen and gentlemen, zealously attached to the House of Hanover; among whom were the Dukes of Somerset, Richmond, Grafton, Devonshire and Marlborough, and (after the accession of George I.) the Duke of Newcastle, the Earls of Dorset, Sunderland, Manchester, Wharton and Kingston; Lords Halifax and Somers; Sir Robert Walpole, Vanburgh, Congreve, Granville, Addison, Garth, Maynwaring, Stepney and Walsh."—(Hand-book tit Kit Kat Club.)

Temple Bar, like the bars at Holborn, Smithfield, and

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\* Stowe.

Whitechapel, marked the boundary of the city liberties. These bars consisted originally of posts, rails, and chains. Those adjoining the Temple were removed to make way for a wooden edifice, which in turn yielded its site to the present structure, of Christopher Wren's design.

Our ancestors had an ancient and laudable, but somewhat Dyak custom, of decorating Temple Bar with the heads of traitors; and the taste for this kind of ornament was popular enough to call into existence a class of persons who found a livelihood in letting spy-glasses at a half-penny a peep. In 1745, the heads of several of the conquered party were placed upon the Bar; but they were the last who supplied it with its horrible decorations; and it has not been found that the peace of England, or the throne of the House of Hanover has been jeopardized by a departure from this ancient way of our ancestors.

Fleet Street took its name from a small rivulet, and was the abode of Wynken de Werde, the celebrated printer, of Praise-God-Barebones, the leather seller, of Isaak Walton, and of Dr. Johnson. In this street Mr. Francis Child carried on the business of a goldsmith with "running cashes," at the sign of the Marygold, when Charles II. was king. About the same time, Richard Hoare carried on the same trade at the Golden Bottle, and Gosling at "The Three Squirrels, over against St. Dunstan's." On the site of Child's Place stood the Devil Tavern, where the society of antiquaries originated; and in Crane Court, another alley out of Fleet Street, the Royal Society met from 1710 until it obtained its present quarters in Somerset House.

But the ancient dwelling-place of the Knights Templars is unquestionably the most interesting spot in the vicinity of Fleet Street. That great order of military monks established themselves at first in Holborn, from which they removed, in 1184, to their "New Temple in Fleet Street." Shortly after the dissolution of their order in 1313, it became the property of their rivals, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who leased the Outer Temple, as we have already seen, to the Bishops of Exeter, and the Middle and Inner to the students of the common law. The lawyers soon appropriated the round portion of the church to the purposes of their calling. Each occupied a particular place in it, like a merchant on 'Change, and there received his clients and his fees.



The legal Templars are celebrated in Court histories for their mummeries and masks and revels; and their successors might perhaps find a place in the Court circular as well as in the law reports, if their course of education was as comprehensive as it was in the days of Fortescue.

"The students in the university of laws," says Dugdale,\* citing the treatise *de laudibus leg. Ang.*, "did not onely study the laws, to serve the courts of justice and profit their country; but did further learn to dance, to sing, to play on instruments on the ferial days; and to study Divinity on the Festivals; using such exercises as they did who were brought up in the King's Court."

That great importance was attached to the first of these accomplishments, appears from the following order of one of the Inns of Court.

"That nothing might be wanting for their encouragement in this excellent study (law), they have very anciently had dancings for their recreation and delight, commonly called revels, allowed at certain seasons. . . . Nor were these exercises of dancing merely permitted, but thought to be necessary (as it seems) and much conducing to the making of gentlemen more fit for their books at other times. For by an order made 6 Feb. 7 Jac., it appears that the under barristers were by decimation put out of commons, for example's sake, because the whole bar offended by not dancing on Candlemas-day preceding, according to the ancient order of this society, when the judges were present: with this, that if the like fault were committed afterwards, they should be fined or disbarred."—Dugd. Orig. Jurid. 246.

Disbarred for refusing to dance! Fancy a contumacious junior of sixty summoned to answer before the Benchers of his Inn for demurring to the performance of a *pas seul* in Hall. Or a plethoric luminary of the Courts of Equity threatened with ruin for pleading the double plea of obesity and asthma in bar of all saltation! Or some scampish student called upon to show cause why he should not be expelled the honourable society for an indecorous execution of the polka! Not to dance before the judges! 'Twas flat burglary. It was fortunate, at all events, for a fashionable regiment which, some years ago, promulgated their incapacity or their unwillingness to dance, that they lived under the mild sway of martial law, and not under the terrible code of the Temple, else they had been infallibly tried at the drum-head and been stripped of their pelisses and

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\* Orig. Jurid. p. 141.

commissions. Our ungainly generation, which can only lounge through a quadrille or prance a clumsy imitation of German and Polish figures, can hardly appreciate the solitude which our ancestors evinced about teaching their youth to dance ; but when men shall again be chosen to keep the Great Seal, not for their legal lore, or their skill in debate, or their party influence, but for the gracefulness of their dancing, Terpsichore will be avenged for the neglect into which she is now fallen.

But we must not deprive the reader of Dugdale's description of the poses plastiques of the legal corps de ballet.

"Dinner being ended, they wait on the Judges and Serjeants, ushering them either into the garden or some other retiring place, until the hall be cleansed and repaired ; and then they usher them again into the hall, and place them in their rooms one after another. This being done, the Ancient that hath the staff in his hand, stands at the upper end of the bar tables ; and the other, with the white rod, placeth himself at the cupboard, in the middle of the hall opposite to the Judges, where, the music being begun, he calleth twice the Master of the Revels. And at the second call, the Ancient with his white staff advanceth forward and begins to lead the measure ; followed first by the barristers and then the gentlemen under the bar, all according to their several antiquities : and when one measure is ended, the Reader at the cupboard calls for another, and so in order. When the last measure is dancing, the Reader at the cupboard calls to one of the gentlemen of the bar as he is walking or dancing with the rest, to give the Judges a song : who forthwith begins the first line of any Psalm as he thinks fittest, after which all the rest of the company follow and sing with him."

The students of the Temple, like the young members of the other Inns of Court, but too frequently derived their morals and manners from the contiguous Alsatia, and were less respected for their learning than feared for their disorderly conduct.

The Temple Gardens, according to Shakspeare,\* supplied the first roses to the partisans of York and Lancaster ; but the London smoke has long since banished the queen of flowers from the place.

Whitefriars, which lies between the Temple and Blackfriars, once belonged to the Carmelites, and possessed the privilege of sanctuary. In days when might made right, and no law was known but the will of the strong,

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\* Henry VI. first part, act 2, sc. 4.

the church undertook the protection of the weak. The sanctuary was then a refuge where the heavy-laden found their rest; the oasis where the defenceless and weary found refreshment and peace. But when law returned to the discharge of its duty, and again protected the life and property of man from the violence and fraud of his fellow-man, the sanctuary became the shelter, not of the victims of broken laws, but of those who broke the laws; and the ancient retreat of oppressed innocence became the receptacle of the outcasts of society. This was the fate of Whitefriars. After the dissolution of the Carmelite Monastery, the district continued for some time orderly, nay, even fashionable; as the occupation of a house there by Edward VI.'s secretary of state, Sir John Cheyne, testifies. But the inhabitants subsequently laid claim to the old Franciscan right of sanctuary; and the privilege was accorded to them by Royal Charter in 1608. A community then quickly arose of gamblers, outlaws, fraudulent debtors, and thieves, who set the law and its officers at defiance. They nicknamed the place *Alsatia*,—after the province of Alsace, Mr. Cunningham suggests, which then stood in much the same position towards France and its other neighbours, as Whitefriars did to the English metropolis;—and down to the reign of William III. they maintained their *imperium in imperio*. From these purlieus, and the adjoining Inns of Court and Chancery, bands of disorderly ruffians and dissipated students poured out at night, and ranging through the streets about the Strand and Covent Garden, insulted and ill-treated the citizen who found himself after nightfall in so distant and desolate a place. Did his cries attract the watch, a pitched battle followed, in which the representatives of the law were not always victorious. They were indeed themselves frequently the object of attack: and the somnolent Charley, who, in rubbing his eyes, found himself a close prisoner in his watch-box, thanked his stars if his lantern remained unsmashed, his halberd still beside him, and his skin whole. But these feats were not peculiar to the “mohocks” or “scowrs,” as they were called, of *Alsatia*. Within the last quarter of a century they were of nightly occurrence; and it is but a few years since a nobleman expiated by a long imprisonment in the Queen's Bench, an assault upon a policeman, which well-nigh proved fatal to the object of his attack. Since the establishment of the new

police, however, the species "mohock" has become extinct; for the result of a contest with the guardians of the public peace is no longer doubtful.

Miserae cognosce præmia rixæ  
Si rixa est, ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.

Not far from the Convent of the Carmelites stood the Monastery of the black friars of St. Dominic, where Charles V. lodged when he visited this country; and where the validity of Henry VIII.'s marriage with Catherine of Arragon was argued before Cardinal Campeggio. After the Reformation, the precinct of the Dominican friars, which had, like Whitefriars, the privilege of sanctuary, received a body of players, who erected and long maintained a theatre there in spite of their puritanical neighbours, and in defiance of the edicts of the Lord Mayor, whose jurisdiction, albeit extending to the city walls, did not penetrate into the liberty in which they had established themselves.

Ludgate Street (anciently Bowyer Row) and Ludgate Hill are now separated only by an imaginary line, but until 1760 the gate of the fabulous King Lud marked distinctly enough where the one ended and the other began; as Sir Thomas Wyatt found in 1554, when after marching through London along much the same course as we have followed, he arrived at Ludgate and demanded admittance. "Avaunt, traitor," was Lord William Howard's answer from the top of the gateway, "thou shalt have no entrance here." "Wyat awhile stayed and rested him awhile upon a stall over against the Bell Savage gate; and at last seeing he could not get into the city, and being deceived of the ayde he hoped for, returned back again in array towards Charing Crosse,"\* which, however, he was not destined to reach. With forty companions he fought his way back as far as Temple Bar, but he was there surrounded by the royalists, made prisoner, and carried off to the Tower.

"Gate-house" is frequently synonymous in our old books with gaol; and as early as the reign of Richard II. the Ludgate was a debtors' prison.

"Formerly debtors that were not able to satisfy their debts, put themselves into this prison of Ludgate for shelter from their credit-

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\* Stowe.

ors. And these were merchants and tradesmen who had been driven to want by losses at sea. When King Philip, in the month of August, 1554, came through London, these prisoners were thirty in number, and owed £10,000, but compounded for £2,000, who presented a well-penned Latin speech to that Prince to redress their miseries, and by his royal generosity to free them; 'And the rather for that place was not *sceleratorum carcer*, sed *miserorum custodia*, i. e. a gaol for villains, but a place of restraint for poor unfortunate men: and that they were put in there not by others, but themselves fled thither; and not out of fear of punishment, but in hope of better fortune.'"—*Strype*, cited in *Handbook*, tit. *Ludgate*.

Not far from Ludgate, another gate "statelier built than the rest," was erected by Henry I. or Stephen, in consequence of the building of old St. Paul's, by which the highway from Aldgate through Cheap to Ludgate was "so crossed and stopped up," that passengers were forced to go round by Paternoster Row, or the old Exchange—the *Cambium regis* of our early Kings, which stood in old 'Change, Cheapside. This, the last built of the city gates, was called New gate, and stood across the present Newgate Street, a little east of Giltspur Street and the Old Bailey. It was destroyed by the great fire, re-built in 1672, and again burnt down by Lord George Gordon's rioters in 1780, when the present gloomy building was erected in its place. The New gate-house was used as a prison as early as the reign of John; but unlike its neighbour, the Lud gate-house, it was as much a *carcer sceleratorum* as a *custodia miserorum*, and continued the receptacle of both the wicked and the unfortunate down to 1815, when Whitecross prison was opened for the latter class. Down to 1783, Tyburn tree, a gallows which is said to have stood on the site of 49, Connaught Square, or, as Mr. Cunningham believes, in Connaught Place, had been, from the days of Henry IV., the scene of capital punishment. In December, 1783, Newgate succeeded to that "triste privilege;" and the owners of the houses in its immediate neighbourhood, reap a handsome harvest from thoughtless or depraved curiosity of thousands, every time a human being is put to death by the law.

At the north-east end of St. Paul's Church-yard stood, from the earliest times until it was pulled down by the Long Parliament, Paul's Cross. Its site can now no longer be discerned, but within the last twenty years a lofty elm stood upon it. It is supposed to have been

originally a Druidical stone. Around it, down to the 13th century, the citizens of London held their Saxon folk-mote, and elected their magistrates, tried and punished offenders, and deliberated upon their affairs. At a later period, we find it the place where proclamations and bulls were read, and where the citizens swore allegiance to their kings. It is uncertain when sermons were first preached there; but the wooden pulpit, which was on the spot in Stow's time, perched upon a flight of stone steps, covered over with a conical roof, which was surmounted by a cross, appears to have been erected by Thomas Kempe, who was Bishop of London between the years 1448 and 1489. Popular preachers were frequently invited to preach at Paul's Cross, and were "freely entertained for five days' space with sweet and convenient lodging, fire, candle, and all other necessities,\* in the Shunamite's house in Watling Street, besides receiving forty shillings.

"Before this cross Tindall's translation of the bible was publicly burnt, by order of Bishop Stokesley; the Pope's sentence on Martin Luther was pronounced from it, in a sermon preached by Fisher, Wolsey being present as the Pope's legate. Here the May-pole, from which the Church of *St. Andrew Undershaft* derives its name, was denounced as an idol by the curate of *St. Catharine Cree*, and its fate sealed. Recantations were made here; royal marriages and public victories proclaimed. The Sunday's sermon at Paul's Cross always showed the religious predilections of the Court. The Pope was denounced here in Henry the Eighth's reign, and Protestants accursed in the reign of his daughter Mary. It was used for other purposes. A certain Dr. Shaw, in a sermon preached here, sounded the feeling of the people in favour of the Duke of Gloucester, before the ambitious Richard assumed the crown; and the memory of Essex, in Elizabeth's reign, was blackened, *by command*, in a Sunday's sermon. When the Stuarts came to the Crown, the preachers at the Cross had royal listeners: King James on one occasion, to countenance a sermon on the reparation of the cathedral, and king Charles I., on the birth of his son, king Charles II."—*Hand-book tit. St. Paul's Cross*.

The church-yard was probably a burial-ground from the remotest antiquity. When Wren dug the foundations of the present cathedral, he came to Saxon stone graves, and underneath these, he found ivory and box pins, supposed to have been used by the Druids in fastening the

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\* Maitland, ii, 949.



winding-sheets of the dead, as also Roman lacrymatories, and lamps, and other relics of that conquering race. An obscure tradition places a temple of Diana on this site; but the earliest edifice of which any authentic account has descended to us, was erected by Ethelbert, early in the 7th century, shortly after his conversion to christianity by St. Augustine. It was burnt down in 961, and the new church, which was raised on its site, was also consumed by fire in the reign of William the Conqueror. Maurice, the bishop of London, undertook to rebuild it at his own expense; and to assist him in his pious undertaking, William gave him the stones of an old ruined tower, called the Palatine Tower, which stood near the Fleet. This was the St. Paul's which necessitated the construction of the New gate. Maurice did not live to see the completion of the cathedral to which he had devoted his worldly wealth. Although founded in 1083 it was not completed till 1240. When finished, however, it must have been a stupendous structure. It was 690 feet long and 130 broad, exceeding the present edifice by 190 feet in length and by 30 in breadth. It was also superior in height; for its spire, which was burnt down shortly after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, was 560 feet high, while the cross of the present dome stands only 404 feet above the pavement. The church-yard also, which was filled with fine old trees, was larger than the present one; its wall extending to Ave Maria Lane, Paternoster Row, Old 'Change, Carter Lane, and Creed Lane. The aisles of the old cathedral were filled with chapels to the B. Virgin, St. George, St. Dunstan, and other saints. It is believed, that prior to the Reformation, not less than two hundred priests were attached to its service, and it was renowned for its wealth, and the magnificence of its shrine.

" Old St. Paul's was severely injured by fire in 1137, and again in 1561, when it was necessary to take the steeple down, and roof the church anew, with boards and lead. Several attempts were made to restore it, and money for the new building of the steeple, was, it is said, collected. James I. countenanced a sermon at *Paul's Cross*, in favour of so pious an undertaking, but nothing was done till 1633, when reparations commenced with some activity, and Inigo Jones built, at the expense of Charles I., a classic portico to a Gothic church.....Charles designed to have built the church anew, (of which Inigo's portico was only an instalment,) but his thoughts were soon drawn in another direction, and old St. Paul's,

under Cromwell, was made a horse quarter for soldiers. The Restoration witnessed another attempt to restore the church. A commission was appointed, and a subscription opened, but before a sufficient fund was raised, the whole structure was destroyed in the fire of London."—Handbook, tit. St. Paul's.

Like the Round Church of the Temple, the parvis or nave of St. Paul's, known by the name of Duke Humphrey's, or Paul's walk, was early converted to secular uses; and here again the lawyers attained a "bad eminence" in the work of desecration.

"There is a tradition, that in times past there was one Inne of Court at Dowgate, called Johnson's Inn; another in Fetter Lane; and another in Paternoster Row; which last they would prove because it was next to St. Paul's Church, where each lawyer and serjeant at his pillar heard his client's cause, and took notes thereof upon his knee as they do in Guildhall at this day. And that after the serjeants' feast ended they do still go to Paul's in their habits and there choose their Pillar whereat to hear their clients' cause (if any come) in memory of that old custom.'—*Dugdale's orig. Jurid.* ed. 1680. p. 142. 'The xvij day of Oct. [1552] was made vii serjants of the coyffe; and after dener they went unto Powlls and so went up the stepes and so round the qwere and ther dyd they ther homage, and so [to] the north-syd of Powlles, and stod a-pone the steps until iiij old serjantes came to-gether and feythyd iiij [new] and brought them unto certen pelers and left them, and then did feyched the residue unto the pelers.' Diary of a resident in London."—Handbook, tit. St. Paul's.

But the lawyers were not left in the exclusive enjoyment of the place; and how they managed, in the midst of the din and uproar which resounded through it all the day long, to hear their clients' cause ("if any came") must excite the wonder of the brethren of the coif, who now peacefully doze away their mornings in the silent shades of the Common Bench. As early as the time of Henry III. the nave was a thoroughfare. In the reign of Elizabeth, the Dean and Chapter complained that porters, butchers, and water-bearers, made great disorder in the Church, and that even during the performance of service people walked about in the choir, where the communion table stood, with their hats on their heads. The chantry and other chapels were completely diverted, after the Reformation, from their original purposes. Some were the receptacles of lumber: one was used as a school, another as a glazier's shop. The vaults were held by tradesmen,

or retained by the Dean and Chapter, and converted into wine cellars. Trunkmakers and carpenters established themselves under the cloisters, and the noise of their hammering echoed through the whole building. An edict of the mayor and common council, in the reign of Mary, imposed fines on all who made a thoroughfare of the place, carrying beer, bread, fruit, fish and flesh, and leading horses, mules, and other beasts. But although some of these "unreverent" practices were checked, the Cathedral continued, down to the time of its destruction, to resemble more a den of thieves than the house of God. Drunken men might be seen lying on the benches at the choir door; and pickpockets plied their calling within, upon the gallants and courtiers—the men about town of the days of Elizabeth and the Stuarts—who made it their daily rendezvous where, after their mid-day dinners, they discussed the politics or retailed the scandal of the day. Let us hasten, however, to do the fair sex justice. The "Paul's walkers" were, without exception, men. A woman was never seen among them.

Of Wren's noble structure it is superfluous to say anything. It was built at about three-fourth's of the cost of the vile rubbish which disfigures and encroaches upon the western extremity of St. James's Park. It is a copy, but not a servile one, of St. Peter's; and is not an unworthy monument of the great artist who erected it, and of the great city which it adorns. Its size, however, unsuits it to the Protestant form of worship; and, therefore, while a small portion is dedicated to the purposes of religion, the greater part of it has been converted, like Westminster Abbey, into a Pantheon, or an area for monuments to mortal greatness. The stranger who can afford to pay four shillings and four-pence to visit it, will look in vain for the majesty and pomp of a ritual in keeping with the imposing immensity of the place. He will not even find any great work of art on its bare walls; but, *en revanche*, he will be shown by the surly and insolent menials of the Dean and Chapter, "for fee and reward in that behalf," the clock, and the ball, and the bell, and the geometrical staircase, and the whispering gallery, and similar objects of solemn concern. To us these curiosities seem strangely misplaced in a temple, christian or heathen, devoted to the worship of the Deity; but when we find that nothing loftier than

the spirit of trade presides over their exhibition, the sight becomes so odious that we gladly pass on.

Cheapside has been from the earliest times the principal or High Street of the city. The oldest writers mention with pride and admiration the splendour of its goldsmiths', booksellers', silk-merciers', linen-drappers', haberdashers', hosiers', and milliners' shops. Ridings or tournaments used to be held in it, on which occasions a wooden scaffolding was erected across the street for the accommodation of the king, queen, and other persons of consequence; but the upper gallery, which was devoted to the ladies, having, at a great riding in 1331, broken down and precipitated Queen Philippa and her attendants upon the heads of the knights below, Edward III. erected a stone structure in lieu of it close to the Church of St. Mary-le-bow. In this stone shed or Seldam, our kings and queens sat in state to view the joustings, shows, pageants, and processions which enlivened the city; and when Wren re-built the Church, he erected for the same purpose the balcony which now overhangs the street.

And doubtless old Cheapside, on a gala day, must have presented a gay spectacle. The street was not, indeed, as now, paved with massive blocks of granite, or skirted with even flag-ways; nor did, as now, its long rows of houses stand modestly back in regular and orderly row. The roadway was, in the eleventh century, innocent of paving, and knew not Macadam. After a day's rain the horseman could with difficulty wade through its bed of soft mud—so soft indeed, that when a hurricane in 1090 blew down the roof of the new Church of St. Mary, which William the Conqueror had recently erected on arches, or "bows," some of the beams sunk, we are told, twenty feet (be the same more or less) into the earth! But even this mud was preferable to the showers which water-spouts and housemaids poured down from projecting roofs and bed-room windows into the middle of the road; showers which made "giving the wall" an act of politeness, and the wrongful "taking" of it a *casus belli*. In spite, however, of these unpleasantnesses, the poets and artists of our iron age would give the palm to old Cheapside. In days when reading was an accomplishment possessed only by the learned, gay, flaunting sign-boards, representing pictorially or symbolically the names or business of the citizens before whose houses they swung, crowded thickly in this commercial thoroughfare. The old houses turned their gable-

ends to the street; and their storeys projected over one another until the distance between their opposite garrets was only half that between their parlours. When a tournament was held, the stalls, which on ordinary days were arrayed thickly along its whole length, were cleared away; and the rude pavement which in the days of the Plantagenets covered the muddy road of the Saxons, was strewed with sand for the greater ease of horses and horsemen. And life was given to the picture by multitudes clad in costumes of every shape, form, and colour, from the glittering armour of the knight, and the more homely but still military garb of his retainer, to the cowls and hoods of monks and friars, the robes of priests, and the endless diversities of dresses which then distinguished the different ranks and conditions of men and women. It was down this old street also, and up Cornhill, as far as the Manor house of Leadenhall, and back again, that, on feasts and holidays, the Lord Mayor and aldermen of the city, issuing forth from the gothic portals of St. Paul's, accompanied by the whole of the cathedral priesthood and by the parochial clergy of the city, moved along in solemn procession. And undoubtedly, in an age keenly alive to æsthetic impressions, the splendid vestments, the tall silver crosses, the burning incense, the majestic music, and other concomitants of the ceremony, in striking the senses of the gazing multitudes, were more efficient than any appeal to abstract reason in carrying home to their minds the consolations and terrors of religion.

At last we reach the Bank, and the aspect of the respectable old lady of Threadneedle Street suffices to bring us back from the past to the present. Before the visions of by-gone times, however, melt completely away, we may, like the careworn sleeper who is roused in the middle of some dream of present happiness or early innocence, grasp at the flying shadows even while returning consciousness feels their unsubstantial nature. From this same Bank, to whatever quarter we turn, we find evidence of the monastic character of London before the Reformation. Austin Friars, now occupied by merchants, stock-brokers, and attorneys, was once the seat of an Augustinian monastery, founded by Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, in 1249. Their Church, which was surmounted by a "most fine-spired steeple, small, high, and straight," was, after the Reformation, granted by

Edward VI. to the Dutch "to be their preaching place;" and the house and ground passed to the Marquis of Winchester, whose son "sold the monuments of noblemen buried there, for one hundred pounds; made fair stabling for horses in place thereof, and sold the lead from the roofs."<sup>\*</sup>

The Crutched or Crossed Friars, were settled in the locality which is still called by their name, and the Franciscans also once had an establishment where Christ's Hospital now stands, leaving their popular designation to mark their ancient precinct. Mr. Cunningham gives the following brief account of their first arrival in this country :

"Nine Grey Friars landed at Dover in the eighth year of Henry III., five settled at Canterbury and four in London. For the first fifteen days, the four who established themselves in London were lodged at the Preaching Friars in Holborn. Their next remove was to Cornhill, where they erected cells, made converts, and acquired the good-will of the mayor and citizens. John Ewin, mercer, subsequently appropriated to their use a piece of ground near St. Nicholas Shambles (whither they now removed) and became himself a lay-brother among them. A second citizen built a choir, and a third, a nave or body to their church. A fourth erected their chapter-house, a fifth their dormitory, a sixth their refectory, a seventh their infirmary, an eighth their study, and a ninth gave them their supply of water. The Queens of the first three Edwards re-built the whole fabric of their church. Robert, Lord Lisle, became a friar of their order, and the celebrated Richard Whittington erected at his own expense a noble library for their use, and enriched it with books to the further amount of £400. The library building escaped the fire, and was faced with brick as late as 1778."—Handbook, tit. Grey Friars.

The last vestige of the Monastery was swept away in 1826, by that Vandalism which falls pitilessly on unremunerative ruins, while it spares and fosters, nay, would perpetuate and increase such profitable nuisances as Smithfield Market. The Church of St. Alphage, London wall, was built on the site of the old Hospital or Priory of the B. Virgin Mary, founded "for the sustentation of one hundred blind men." The Minories, indebted for its present celebrity, valeat quantum, to the mart and advertisements of Moses and Son, owes its name to a convent of nuns of the order of St. Clair, which was founded in 1293, by Edmund Earl of Lancaster, and brother of Edward III.

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\* Stow, p. 67.



Mincing Lane, the great sugar market, and head quarters of the West Indian interest, is so called from its having been once the property of the Minchuns, or Black Nuns, whose convent stood in St. Helen's Place, on the site of the present Leather-seller's Hall; and in Holywell Street, Shoreditch, once famed for its "sweet, wholesome, and clear water," stood a Benedictine nunnery, dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

Duke's Place, Aldgate, occupied ever since Oliver Cromwell's time by Jews, stands in the precinct of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, founded by Matilda, Queen of Henry I. King Edgar had granted a waste tract of land, lying beyond the "porte" or gate, called Aldgate, to thirteen soldiers or knights, "well-beloved to the king and realm" for their past services, and had created it a "soke" or guild. It was thence called indifferently the knighten guild, or the port soke. Upon the establishment of the priory, the descendants of the thirteen knights assigned their guild to the Prior, to whose office thenceforth, and down to the time of the dissolution, the dignity of Alderman of the city was attached. "These Priors," says Stow, "have sitten and ridden amongst the Aldermen of London, in livery like unto them, saving that his habit was in shape of a spiritual person, as I myself have seen in my childhood." Portsoken ward elects an alderman to this day; and if the true etymology of its name should ever be forgotten, the festive habits of our civic grandees will readily furnish another.

The Spital-fields, once a Roman burying-ground, belonged to the priory and hospital of St. Mary Spital, founded in 1197, by Walter Brune, and Rosia his wife, and dedicated to the honour of Jesus Christ and the B. Virgin Mary. In the church-yard of the priory, now Spital Square, stood a pulpit-cross, (somewhat like Paul's,) where the Spital sermons, which are now delivered every Easter, at Christ Church, Newgate St., before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, were originally preached.

The Charter house, a corruption of "Chartreuse," was called after the Carthusian monks, who established themselves on that spot in 1371; and very near them stood the great Priory and hospital of St. Bartholomew. The choir and transept of the church of this priory, now form the church of St. Bartholomew the

Great, in Smithfield, and belong, partly to the Norman, and partly to the early English and perpendicular periods. The precinct of this priory

"was for several centuries the great Cloth Fair of England. Clothiers repaired to it from the most distant parts, and had booths and stands erected for their use within the church-yard of the Priory, on the site of what is now called Cloth Fair. The gates of the precinct were closed at night for the protection of property, and a court of *Pie Poudre* erected within its verge for the necessary enforcement of the laws of the fair, of debts, and legal obligations. In this court offenders were tried the same day, and the parties punished in the stocks or at the whipping-post the minute after condemnation. At the dissolution of religious houses, the privilege of the fair was in part transferred to the Lord Mayor and Corporation, and in part to Richard Rich, Lord Rich, (A. D., 1560,) ancestor of the Earls of Warwick and Holland. It ceased, however, to be a 'cloth fair' of any great importance in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.....It subsequently became a fair of a very diversified character. The old amusements were wrestling and shooting, motions, puppets, operas, tight-rope dancing, and the exhibition of dwarfs, monsters, and wild beasts."—*Handbook*, Tit. Bartholomew Fair.

Lastly, on the Surrey side of the river, below Southwark, Bermondsey, a district now inhabited chiefly by tanners, was the site of a monastery of monks of the Cluniac order, founded in 1082, by Aylwin Child, a citizen of London. Its ancient gate, Mr. Cunningham tells us, with a large arch and postern on one side, was standing within the present century. Of course, no traces of this remnant of the old house now remain. St. Thomas's hospital was founded in 1213 by one of the Priors of Bermondsey, as an almonry, or house of alms. The fine old church of St. Saviour's, on the Southwark side of London Bridge, was originally the church of the Priory of St. Mary Overy, and became the parish church after the dissolution of monasteries, when it received its present name.

To pass from monastic to commercial London, from the monuments which religion dedicated to God and His saints to those which modern genius has raised to Mammon, from ecclesiastical corporations to trading companies, from monasteries and churches to railways and docks, is a transition for which the reader would not be grateful. We therefore spare him the present glories of the capital; referring him for such matters to the pages of Mr. Cunningham, where he will find something said upon every subject of in-

terest, from palaces and theatres to Joe's mutton-chops, and Grange's ices. But if we pass Westminster Abbey, also, unheeded, bye, the magnitude, not the nature of the subject, is the excuse for an omission as flagrant as that of Hamlet in the play. Little assistance, it may be added, would have been afforded by the article on the Abbey in the Hand-book. The author doubtless felt, that to do the subject justice, a space disproportioned to the rest of his work was necessary. He has devoted a separate book to its "Art, Architecture, and Associations;" but in the present one has given only a meagre and uninteresting catalogue of the principal monuments, and an enumeration of the several component parts of the building.

Before leaving the "memorials" of old London, we may throw a passing glance at another class of relics, which possess a quaint interest of their own. We allude to some of the sign-boards which used, before they were removed by Act of Parliament early in the reign of George III., to swing over the doors of the shops, and to the strange names still found in different corners of the town. These, when analysed, often reveal an unexpected meaning. Thus, in Portsoken ward, just-mentioned, there is a Nightingale lane, where nightingale probably never sang, but which was no doubt named at a time when the district was known as the Knighten-guild. Blind Chapel Court, adjoining Mark Lane, is a corruption of Blanche Apleton, the name of the manor in which it is situated, as old as the reign of Richard II. Gutter Lane was once the property of a respectable Saxon, named Guthurun; and Gerard's Hall, in Basing Lane, now an hotel, possessing, Mr. Cunningham assures us, "a good coffee-room, a ball-room, good wines, beds for seventy-eight, and a Norman crypt," was called after its owner, John Gisors, who was Mayor of London in 1245.

The old signs, except where they had some immediate reference to the trades carried on under them, were generally derived from scripture or from religious history, or were the heraldic devices of royal or noble houses. The "Cock" was the bird of St. Peter, and is a well-known sign even at the present time. The "Salutation," the "Maiden Head," "Our Lady," "the Lamb," "the Three Kings," were all derived from the same source. The Saracen's Head was brought to us by the Crusaders. The White Harts, the Blue Boars, and the Black Lions

came from the same menagerie as the Griffins and Dragons. The striped pole, the golden fleece, the three balls, or purses, were dedicated exclusively to the use of the barber, the hosier, and the pawnbroker. In some cases, however, the old signs underwent metamorphoses more or less complete according to the extent of the transmutation of their names. Thus, the dishevelled figures of the "Bacchanals" were transformed into a mere bag of nails. From the pious hope or pharisaical boast of Cromwell's Independents, "God encompasseth us," sprung the Goat and Compasses. The Dutch legend of "Mercurius is der Goten Boode," gave birth to another and equally celebrated goat, to wit, the Goat in Boots. The great bull and portentous mouth, which used to distinguish one of the coach hotels of the city, was but a representation of what was, to a not over nice ear, *idem sonans* with Boulogne mouth. The Swan, in Lad Lane, acquired a second neck from his having originally borne on his beak the two nicks with which all swans on the Thames, within the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor, are marked; and the well-known Inn in Fleet St., the "Bolt in Tun," is so called from the rebus, or hieroglyphic manner of writing the word "Bolton," the name of the last prior of St. Bartholomew's, to which religious house it belonged.

It was well observed by the great historian of the Peloponnesian war, that when the day should come for judging of the comparative greatness of Athens and Sparta by their ruins, the former would give the impression of having been a powerful state, while of the latter, little or nothing would remain to bear witness of its existence. Judged by this test, the London of the past would run the risk of sharing the fate of the military rather than of the naval republic of Greece; for it possesses, as already observed, but few monumental records of its early life. That the frail sheds which a few painted savages reared, a couple of thousand years ago, on the swampy bank of the Thames, should have vanished in the presence of a Roman fort, is not surprising; but it is a singular and a sad fatality, that little or nothing should remain of the massive erections of the Roman empire, or of the solid masonry of the Anglo-Saxons, or of the noble creations of Christian art. Few cities have been the habitation of man in so many forms and degrees of civilization,—from primitive savagedom to the highest refinement,—and yet few are so destitute

of traces of its former existence. The Tower, the Temple church, Westminster Abbey, and Westminster Hall are almost the only relics it possesses of the days of chivalry. The London stone, or so much of it as has not been chipped away by idlers and antiquarians, and some old fragments of the old Roman wall, in Cripplegate churchyard and in that of All Hallows, are the only existing representatives of the first conquerors of Britain. London bears scarcely any other marks of old age. Its growth, indeed, from the first wigwams which found a shelter among the tall oaks of the Druids, to its present colossal dimensions, has resembled rather the spontaneous development of an organized being, than the ordinary mechanical process of accretion by which inorganic matter is augmented; and, although a score of centuries have passed over it, it has not even yet attained the limit of its full size. Not only do squares, and streets, and villas, and terraces, stride out yearly, with giant steps, into the market gardens and orchards of the neighbouring hamlets; but whole lanes, and courts and alleys, in the deepest of its recesses, disappear and make way for the broad straight avenues of the most recent and approved model. Its old wooden houses gave place to brick ones; and these, not much more substantial than their predecessors, yield to such structures as present fashion or convenience requires. Hitherto, London has not been very fortunate in its architects; but the present bears the promise of a better future: and if the next generation shall surpass that which erected the Houses of Parliament and British Museum as much as the perpetrators of the National Gallery and Buckingham Palace have been surpassed by it, we may hope, that when the time shall come that London shall have to look to the past for the days of its greatness,—when, like Rome, it shall have shrunk into a corner of its former self, or, like Thebes, have ceased to be reckoned among the living cities of man—enough will remain to show that it was once the seat of one of the mightiest families of the human race.

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ART. IV.—1. *Gustav-Adolfs-Denkmal bei Lützen*; als Erinnerung an Gustav Adolph König v. Schweden, und die Schlacht bei Lützen, 1632. 8vo. Lützen. 1849.

2. *Gustav Adolph König v. Schweden, und seine Zeit.* Von Dr. Gfrörer, 8vo., Sulzbach, 1845.

**A**MONG the numerous and bloody wars which marked the rise and progress of Protestantism during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there is not one that has left behind it so many vestiges as the Thirty Years' War. The traveller who wanders over the Palatinate and the lake of Constance; who visits the field of battle where Gustavus Adolphus fell, or idles along the sombre rivulet, silently gliding through the town of Egra, from whence it hurries on through a dark ridge of rocks, as if ashamed of its olden remembrances; in every region, nay, almost in every sequestered nook, is sure to meet with the demon-like phantom of that memorable struggle so steadfastly maintained by the two halves of the German nation throughout thirty long and dreary years. In an infuriate and murderous contest like this, antiquity would doubtless have seen the agency of some mysterious Being, the interference of some irritated Deity, such as pursued the Atrides, such as prompted the corpses of Eteocles and Polynices to separate from each other on the very funeral pyre on which had been laid their mortal remains.

But, indeed, no supernatural intervention is requisite to explain a feud that bears but too evidently the stamp of human passion in its most deadly consequences; and if, from the physical, you turn your eyes towards the moral world, even in those degenerate and perverse doctrines that have lately marked their career in Germany with bloodshed and ruin, you are struck with the strong resemblance they bear to that state of moral degradation, to that utter want of private and public virtue, which threatened to overthrow society itself during the celebrated conflict of the seventeenth century. Doubtless, when you stop at Heidelberg, you contemplate with astonishment the traces of Turenne's cannon balls still visible upon its time-worn fortifications; at Lindau and at Bregenz the ruined churches recall to memory the vandalism of the Swedish bands; Magdeburg still preserves the memory of its fire;



at the *Burg*, in Prague, you are shown the window from which the administrators were launched forth to a presumed death; in fine, when you penetrate into the castle of Egra, the guide never fails to lead you to a chamber now bedecked with modern trumpery, and with a grave, sedate air, he says: "Here it was that Wallenstein fell." And what a drama do those simple words alone imply! But even then the mind irresistibly reverts from the scenes of such dreadful tragedies to the passions which promoted them. And, indeed, what were the subsequent events of the eighteenth century but the direct consequences of the Thirty Years' War? The rivalry and quarrels of Frederick the Second and Maria Theresa were, in fact, but a continuation of that mortal duel between Protestantism and Catholicism. Nay more—the general insurrection of Germany against the ambition of a Napoleon had hardly been crowned with success, when the struggle was again renewed, though courteous at first and confined as it were to penmen; but ere long assuming the character of religious and political strife, it has blazed forth at last between the two contending powers of Austria and Prussia, and menaces to convulse, at no very distant period, the tranquillity of all Europe.

Who could be astonished, therefore, that an event so prolific with circumstances of high importance should have attracted the particular notice of the literary world? That the minds of men, thus hurried along out of their usual orb and evolutions by extraordinary occurrences, should have endeavoured to trace the secret motives and explain the acts of the personages who are the prime movers in the lamentable drama we are alluding to. And this was the more indispensable in the present case that Schiller was, a few years back, the only historian who appeared to have studied seriously the Thirty Years' War, though, God knows, with what degree of impartiality and justice. Upon the authority of the great German poet, the world was accustomed to encircle Gustavus Adolphus with a halo of sanctity and disinterestedness, which made of him the arch-type of a protestant hero; to attribute to Tilly a proverbial reputation of ferocity, without ascertaining how far it might have been deserved; to cast over the shoulders of a Wallenstein a regal mantle, which death alone, it was said, had prevented him from assuming, as well as from selling his country to the Swedes, in order to supersede

the descendants of Rodolph of Hapsburg. Such were the current opinions of the day; and though their unsoundness was known to the learned few, the latter were pleased to promote the same erroneous views from a sense of policy, whilst the crowd of literary smatterers found it most convenient to adopt a ready hatched aphorism, which was in unison with their enmity towards the Catholic Church.

In the mean time a new generation had arisen in Germany. Ancient and modern history was studied with a new impetus; the mediæval chroniclers were sifted with a strong feeling of impartiality, and the German erudite applied to the relics of Catholic centuries the same spirit of equitable criticism which guided him so surely among the ruins of Greek and Roman institutions. It is to this spirit that we may attribute so many celebrated works, and among others the researches lately made by some Protestant historians of Teutonic origin, who have undertaken to write the biographies of Gustavus Adolphus and Wallenstein; whilst others have ventured to cope with the complicated and difficult narration of the Thirty Years' War itself. Few of these authors are known in England, though one of them at least has obtained the honours of a translation: thus we trust that some of our readers will peruse with pleasure the subject we are now to lay before them.

It was natural that the great Swedish monarch should have attracted the attention of the Germans. His prominent part between the years 1630 and 1632, his close connexion with the Elector of Brandenburg, his pretension to restore the liberty of the Germans by overthrowing the house of Austria; his no less notorious intention of usurping the Imperial Crown for himself; and last, though not least, the defeat of his designs through his ill-timed death at Lützen,—all these were motives more than sufficient to excite the curiosity of the Prussian learned. To the biography of this extraordinary man, whom Napoleon esteemed the greatest warrior of his age, M. Gfrœrer, now superintendent of the Lutheran Church in Berlin, has devoted many years of his laborious life. Written in a simple yet graphic style, his *Gustavus Adolphus and his Times* has become a classical work in his own country, and well deserves its reputation. Though we shall have many strictures, as a Catholic, to lay upon several of his opinions,

still we must confess that little remains to be said concerning his hero, so thoroughly has he applied the rules of modern criticism to the numerous memoirs, correspondences, and military and political despatches, which it has been his good fortune to have access to. Differing widely from his predecessors, M. Gfrörer is by no means prone to flatter the grandson of Gustavus Wasa; throughout his whole work it is easy to discern a strong feeling of patriotic shame that his countrymen should have enlisted under the banners of a foreign usurper, who dissembled his ambitious views behind the veil of religious freedom. It is no less easy to see that the author regrets the fall of that noble fabric reared by Catholic hands and in Catholic ages—the Holy Roman Empire—more truly contributive to German unity than all the lucubrations of modern professors. And then with what burning indignation does he arraign the Protestant princes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for their selfish views of individual aggrandizement at the expense of the Church! In what vivid colours does he show their petty intrigues, their besotted jealousy of each other, their grovelling life of debauchery, their despicable meanness and baseness alternately towards the Emperor and the Swedish conqueror. Again, the man who wishes to ascertain the precise degree of religious freedom which the Protestants enjoyed under their ministers, has but to open M. Gfrörer's pages. He will there see exposed for the first time, we believe, the bigoted tyranny of the court preachers, excommunicating their rivals, imposing upon the multitude the revellings of a heated imagination, so that the people, says our author, had exchanged one single pope, who swayed his power afar and with dignity, for a set of diminutive popes, close at hand, standing high in the prince's favour, and ever ready to use the strong hand of power in order to enforce their own reckless inspirations. But it is time that we should make the reader acquainted with the writer who has put us in possession of so much precious information.

The history of Gustavus Adolphus opens, as was to be expected, with a retrospective review of the events which overthrew the Danish domination in Sweden, established in its stead a national dynasty, and consequently introduced Lutheranism as the most durable and most immediate support of the throne. We may at a future period revert to this subject, and glean many interesting particulars

from sources lately published ; at present it will suffice to affirm that M. Gfrörer, though writing under the impulse of a strong Protestant bias, presents a most vivid picture of the ambition and cruelty which prompted Gustavus Wasa to subvert the religion of his forefathers. He repressed with the iron grasp of power the remonstrances of the same peasantry whose arm had secured him the crown. Like our own Henry VIII. he bribed the nobility with the allurement of church lands, a considerable portion of which, like him also, he appropriated to himself. Well versed in the arts of popular sophistry, and perfectly aware with what keenness men look to money matters, the new king took advantage of a fair held at Stockholm to expose before the people the wants of the public treasury. The costs of the national war, said he, amounted to no less than 980,000 marks, a large portion of which lay upon himself. The inhabitants of Lubeck had advanced 68,000 for stores and ammunition, without reckoning a loan of eight thousand marks in ready money. To balance this enormous outlay the crown had but 24,000 marks. The only resource left was to seize the lands of the Church, which formed a scandalous contrast with the poverty of the country, since two-thirds of the whole property belonged to the clergy, whilst the remaining third was divided among the king, the nobility, and the people.

It was evident that the monarch purposely omitted to state, that a great part of the church lands were appropriated to charitable distributions, which, in the able hands of the owners, contributed efficaciously to alleviate the wants of the poor, and counterbalance the effects of an inclement sky in these dreary regions of Europe. This indeed did not escape the notice of the lower classes, "who clung," says M. Gfrörer, "with fondness to their old faith, and to the institutions founded by their forefathers." (p. 15.) But Wasa was resolved to realize his long-matured plans. Even before he ascended the throne he kept up a correspondence with Luther. He soon began to favour the propagation of the new doctrines within his realms, notwithstanding the zealous resistance of Brask, bishop of Zinköping, and the head of the Catholic religion in Sweden. New taxes were laid upon the clergy, and every vacancy in the episcopal sees was filled with persons presumed to be subservient to the king's designs. But in this piece of policy, like many other princes, the first Wasa was

deceived ; all the new chosen bishops, to a man, strenuously opposed the introduction of Protestantism. Two of them, in particular, Peter James Sunnenwøder, bishop of Westeraes, and Knut, Archbishop of Upsala, were accused of high treason, and obliged to fly to Dalmatia, from whence the peasantry addressed a letter to Gustavus, in which they declare themselves "disposed to tolerate no longer that new taxes should be laid upon the churches, monasteries, monks, and people of Sweden." M. Gfrøerer attributes this remonstrance to the intrigues of the two bishops, though he affords no proof of his affirmation ; in our opinion, it is a strong evidence of what were the real feelings of the people. Wasa's tyranny forced the two prelates to seek a refuge among the mountains of Norway, but the king of that country delivered them into the hands of their persecutor, upon condition that they should receive an impartial judgment. Immediately after their arrival in Stockholm, they were impeached before the Council of State, which condemned them to death. The execution took place, notwithstanding the numerous appeals made to the monarch's clemency. Dressed out in pontifical robes, all in tatters, riding on two miserable hacknies, with their faces turned to the tails, their venerable heads covered with a straw mitre, and with a crown made of birch bark, they were led through the city of Stockholm, to meet their death, whilst a troop of buffoons shouted after them : "Here comes the Lord Peter Sunnenwøder, our new-made king !" The two martyrs suffered with constancy, evincing a courage worthy of their cause, in the month of February, 1527.

Acts like these were sufficient to strike terror throughout the land, and Wasa took advantage of it to confiscate a certain number of monasteries, allowed the secular and regular clergy to marry, appropriated to himself the spiritual jurisdiction, and deposed such priests as presumed to resist his arbitrary power. Shortly after, he assembled a diet, and required the concession of an absolute government. The clergy and nobility made some show of resistance ; but the king threatening to resign, he soon gained a complete victory : all his demands were granted, and the bishops obliged to sign a paper, declaring themselves well pleased to be rich or poor according to the king's pleasure.

It would be useless to dwell any longer upon the resolu-

tions of a diet which delivered into the hands of an ambitious sovereign the faith, the liberties, and institutions of a whole nation: our own history furnishes but too many transactions of a similar nature; we must besides remember that these incidents are but the forerunners of those events which brought Wasa's grandson into the heart of Germany.

The founder of the new Swedish dynasty left four sons, Eric, John, Magnus, and Charles, of whom the two first and the last alone lived long enough to wield their father's sceptre. John had married a Polish princess, Catherine Jagellon, a zealous Catholic, and thus became an object of jealousy to the new king Eric. The Duke of Finland (for such was John's title) was imprisoned by his elder brother; but his noble hearted wife willingly shared his captivity, wherein she succeeded in converting her husband, and gave birth to her only son Sigismund. As is usually the case in such circumstances, John's sufferings made him popular with the people, so that he found no difficulty in ascending the throne on the death of Eric.

It could, however, be hardly expected that a sovereign of his character should have been chosen by God to restore the true faith, to which the peasantry, according to M. Gfroerer's own admittance, still secretly adhered. John, of a fickle and headstrong character, was desirous of professing Catholicism in private, though he publicly upheld Lutheranism, and he ventured so far as to ask of the Pope that the priests might be allowed to omit the intercession of the saints and prayers for the dead in the holy sacrifice. To this piece of hypocrisy, Gregory XIII. would by no means consent, and henceforward John's zeal for our religion cooled to such a degree that he himself set up as an innovator, by imposing upon his people a spurious liturgy, strangely wrought out by a compound of Catholic and Protestant doctrines. This liturgy was enforced by the persecution of all opponents, whatever might be their own religious persuasions. King John's *red book*, as it was called, soon became the terror of the whole country, except in Sudermaunland, governed by Charles, the youngest and fourth son of Gustavus Wasa.

This prince was indeed no idle observer of passing events. Through a false policy of his father, he was next to independent in his dukedom, a circumstance which favoured to the highest degree his ambitious designs. His



demesnes became a secure asylum for all persecuted Protestants; he positively refused to use John's liturgy in his churches, allowed the Lutheran preachers to anathematize the monarch's religious enactments, and above all, zealously affected great alarm for the safety of Sweden, on seeing that Sigismund, heir-apparent to the crown, was brought up in the Catholic religion. His court soon turned out to be a rendezvous for every malcontent; he strongly opposed John's second marriage, after Catherine's death; things even went so far as to threaten Sweden with a civil war between the two brothers, an event which would certainly have taken place, had not Charles ultimately yielded to many of the monarch's wishes.

The motive of this timely concession was the discovery of a conspiracy framed by the nobility for the recovery of the power and privileges of which they had been deprived by the first Wasa. This plot contributed more than anything else to bring about a reconciliation between John and the Duke of Sudermaunland; but the death of the former in 1592 opened a new field to the hopes and daring plans of the latter.

The Duke Charles seems to have inherited, more than any of his brothers, the qualities and faults of his gifted father. Keen-sighted in his views of men and things, crafty and heartless, he was a good general, an excellent politician, and had the great merit of never abandoning his primitive purposes as long as he could entertain the slightest hopes of success. By a series of artifices and acts of treachery which are too easily glossed over by M. Gfrörer, he succeeded in wresting the throne from Sigismund, the new king, who likewise governed Poland; but whose sole crime was that of being a Catholic. And yet this Catholic sovereign merely wished to obtain in Sweden for his own religion the same toleration he granted to other religious persuasions: thus setting beforehand a high and early example of that truly christian feeling, that leaves to the grace of God and to the preaching of the gospel the conversion of human hearts and souls.

If we could give credit to M. Gfrörer's narration, the Jesuits had spun a most dark intrigue, which was supported by the most iniquitous measures, to deprive Sweden of the blessings of Protestantism: unfortunately he produces no historical proof of his assertions, and we must therefore deal with it as a mere tribute paid to the hackneyed preju-

dices of his creed. But from the whole tenor of the chapter we are now analyzing, it is evident that the Duke of Sudermaunland recoiled from no nefarious practice, in order to deprive his nephew of his legitimate inheritance, even when, as on one occasion, Charles owed to him the preservation of his very life. At last, he attained the object of his ambition, reigned for many years over Sweden, severely repressed the haughty spirit of the nobles, and left his crown to that celebrated monarch, whose future grandeur he had long foreseen. Towards the close of his life, when his courtiers were prompting him to some great undertaking, Charles IX. was accustomed to pat young Gustavus upon the head, and to exclaim, "Here is one who will do it, *ille faciet*."

If nature had done much for Gustavus Adolphus, his father certainly neglected nothing to cultivate his rising genius. At the early age of twelve years he spoke Latin fluently, four modern languages with the elegance of a native, and understood the Russian as well as the Polish idiom without any difficulty. It was indeed no extraordinary occurrence during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to see persons eminent in rank better versed in the knowledge of ancient and modern languages than many of their class can boast of in the present day. Charles IX. took great care also that his successor should be brought up in the practice of state affairs; he was but eleven years old when his attendance was required at the council; at fourteen, he undertook a journey in the southern provinces of the kingdom, to make himself acquainted with the details of local government, and only a year after we find him receiving and answering the foreign ambassadors sent to his father's court. Two men of distinguished characters were particularly entrusted with the young prince's education, John Skytte and Oxel Oxenstierna: they both remained in after times his confidential advisers and bosom friends. As for Oxenstierna, his influence over European affairs in the period which followed his master's death, is well known to all proficients in history.

The reader will not be astonished to learn that Gustavus Adolphus was an enthusiastic admirer of the art of war: to become thoroughly acquainted with its most intricate details was one of his chief objects—an object he but too soon attained for the welfare of mankind. His first and successful attempts in the military career were made

against the Danes under the direction of his father; but when the latter died Adolphus was immediately engaged in a long war against Sigismund, King of Poland, who still vindicated his rights to the crown of Sweden. The young monarch in a very short time attracted the notice of all Europe by his numerous successes in that struggle; so that when Christian IV. of Denmark volunteered to become the head of the Protestant Union in the Thirty Years' War, Gustavus was already considered as his rival for that high station, though different circumstances prevented the Protestants from accepting his offers.

Upon the eve of ushering his hero upon this great field of political and military adventure, M. Gfrörer pauses to cast a searching and impartial eye upon the state of Germany during the sixteenth century, as well as upon the principal causes which contributed to work in favour of the Reformation. This first chapter of the second book we consider as one of the most important of the whole work; for interwoven though it be with strong Lutheran prejudices, still we can trace throughout a no less strong feeling of historical candour which gives it a particular interest to Catholic readers. Never, we believe, did the despicable conduct of the German princes, nor the turbulent dispositions of the gentry and burghers appear in more glaring colours. We shall therefore offer no apology for making abundant quotations, leaving to the reader himself to animadvert upon such passages as are merely the result of insufficient information or party spirit on the part of our author.

"From the beginning of the thirteenth century," says M. Gfrörer, "the combined strength of the Roman Church and of the German princes had lowered more and more the dignity of the Emperor.\* In proportion as the supremacy of the immediate vassals rose to paramount importance, that of the Emperor dwindled into nothingness and to a mere shadow. We may consider the long and inglorious reign of Frederick III. (1440-1493) as the darkest period of this deep degradation of the imperial power. But the triumph of the high aristocracy had hardly been completed, when the victorious princes armed to attack their previous ally, the Roman Church, which had in fact usurped to herself a large portion

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\* Had we time and space, it would be no difficult task to prove that the Church had constantly acted in the opposite direction, and of this M. Gfrörer gives himself a memorable example in the conduct of Berthold, Archbishop of Mentz, though we do not agree in all he says of that prelate.

of the common booty. The Pope and his German agents, the ecclesiastical dignitaries of the empire, enjoyed a far larger share of power in Germany, and reaped far richer incomes from the German soil, than Frederick III. or his predecessors. Here, then, was a conquest for these ambitious lords, which promised a no less important accession of power than their victory over the imperial throne itself. And supposing that no unforeseen obstacle should interfere, it was by no means difficult to see in whose favour fortune would declare. For the aristocracy of the empire was a natural force which shot forth its roots into the deepest strata of the soil; whilst the Church, though beloved and revered during the first part of the middle ages, had now lost nearly all hold upon public opinion, in consequence of shocking abuses tenaciously upheld by the Popes, in the very face of the councils and of Christendom at large. A loss like this, in itself most lamentable, was heightened by circumstances of a still more dangerous character." P. 222-3.

Among these circumstances, one of the most conspicuous was the gradual rise and progress of the commercial interest in the towns and cities. The sober habits of this new class, their shrewd intelligence, added to the ambition which prompted them to aspire to a share in public affairs, made them generally averse to the opulent and influential prelates of the German empire. Hence the zeal with which they embraced the new doctrines, so that if the princes showed themselves the most ardent adversaries of Popedom, the citizens, (remarks M. Gfroerer,) were doubtless the most conscientious antagonists of the Roman Church. Conscience has ever, we are disposed to believe, had but little to do with the motives of the burghers; for, like their rivals in the great work of spoliation, they were not at all blind to the worldly increase of riches and political importance which they would reap from the appropriation of the lands and privileges belonging to the princes of the Church.

It must not likewise be forgotten, that the turbulent class of the literatis, so numerous in those times, was principally recruited among the sons of the burghers, and every one is well aware of the bitter enmity these men bore to the doctrines and institutions of Catholicism. If to them we add the dangerous spirit of insubordination which prevailed among the German gentry and peasantry, a spirit of which the bold insurrections directed by Franz of Sickingen were but incidental manifestations, among many others of a no less formidable character, we shall not

be at a loss to affirm, that no element of anarchy was dormant when Luther's pretended Reformation blazed forth in all its horrors.

And yet, on the very eve of that momentous event, there was a man who endeavoured to link Germany in one common band, to rear that fabric of unity and nationality which of late has been the delusive dream of so many philosophers and politicians. That man was Berthold, archbishop of Mentz. He was born of the noble house of Hennsberg, in the year 1442, and entered at an early age the household of Frederic III., where he acquired a thorough knowledge of political and administrative affairs. In 1486, he was called to the see of Mentz. Like many bishops of his age, he was more busy with secular concerns than with the real duties of his station. However, his soaring mind soon showed him the urgent necessity of restoring to its pristine splendour the imperial dignity, and of combining the different classes of the German nation in a manner which might enable them to form a great body, somewhat similar to the British community. Thus he drew up a plan for periodical assemblies, destined to discuss the public affairs, to vote the taxes; but, at the same time, he confined within too narrow limits the authority of the crown; and, therefore, we can hardly be astonished that both Frederic III. and Maximilian I. rejected his ideas. But the wretched state of society in Germany, and the egotistical tendencies of its unruly princes, formed the principal obstacle to the patriotic designs of Berthold. He died in 1504, "the last great bishop," observes M. Gfrörer, "at least, in the old sense of the word, of the German empire, which now rushed on irresistibly towards its dissolution." After his death, the memory of his efforts was preserved among his friends, and among the people; from time to time many an abortive attempt was made to establish what had been the goal of his wishes, "but it was too late. An ill-omened star prevented the execution of plans formed with great energy, for the establishment of German unity. Providence would not ordain the realization of this grand conception." (p. 239.)

In these lines it is hardly possible not to perceive the prepossessions of the modern German politician, prepossessions which have so lately thrown his country into all but inextricable confusion. We shall have hereafter to

offer some observations on this subject, and this obliges us to be the more sparing of them at present.

The audacious revolt of Francis von Sickingen, and of the German peasantry, in 1525, has been generally attributed to the extension of Lutheran doctrines. There is doubtless some reason for this. However, our author proves, from a series of incontrovertible facts, that these insurrections were but the continuation of several others, which may be traced up to the last years of the fifteenth century. The distracted state of Germany under its feeble emperors, and no less unruly nobles, goaded the lower classes to a state of madness, which required only the slightest occasion to cause a general disruption of all the social ties. In the midst of their misery, the deluded peasants imagined that any change would bring them better days, and thus were ever ready to listen to a popular leader. Another circumstance greatly contributed to render still more formidable, and still more frequent, the recurrence of these insurrections. Since the revolution wrought by the discovery of gunpowder in the art of war, the importance of infantry was becoming greater and greater in the composition of European armies. Thus, in the course of a few years, there was hardly a labourer's family in which one of its members had not served a long time under some of the numberless *condottieri* who sought for fame and fortune by selling their services to the potentates of Europe. These restless spirits were not likely to submit tamely to the taunts and insults of the petty lords under whom they lived, on retiring to their native villages. They became the natural ringleaders of the infuriated mob. But the deep prudence with which they often combined their plans, evinced but too evidently how well they remembered the lessons of their military career. In fine, we must recollect, that a population once accustomed to the use of arms, will soon learn to conquer such rights as the policy of their governments is disposed to refuse them. Of the truth of this assertion the experience of the past and present times offers too many proofs to require any further demonstration.

Such was the condition of Germany, and we might even say of Christendom at large, when Luther made his appearance. The princes, observes M. Gfroerer, favoured his ideas of christian liberty as far as they contributed to



extend their own privileges; but were by no means disposed to confer the same boon upon their subjects. Many of the new converts spoke out most forcibly their opinion upon this subject. The famous Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, declared, that, far from having favoured the outbreak of the peasantry, Luther's doctrine prescribed implicit obedience to the sovereign. Others issued forth proclamations destined to enforce upon the convictions of their tenants, that in the word *liberty*, religious liberty alone was concerned; whilst in this world below, all earthly duties were to remain upon the same footing as before. It was a hard lesson for the Germans to learn; but their tutors succeeded in knocking it into their brains by dint of blows and much bloodshed.

"In the meantime," continues M. Gfrörer, "the converted lords were very far from being contented with the naked gospel alone. And in this Luther endeavoured to meet their wishes. Just the same as in 1524 he had acted towards the grand-master Albert, so immediately after the close of the peasant war, he wrote a letter to another Brandenburg, likewise named Albert, and Archbishop of Mentz, inviting him to marry, and to transform his diocese into a temporal principality. In giving this piece of advice, Luther acted as if the archbishopric was a demesne having no lord; as if the Emperor of the Empire had nothing to say in the future administration of the great Church fiefs. The Archbishop himself, however, considered the matter otherwise. Though he had given more than one proof of his partiality to the new doctrines, he dared not follow Luther's advice; probably because he feared the vengeance of Rome, and of the party still adhering to the old faith. But other princes who had declared for Luther soon set to work. The cloisters and episcopal rights of jurisdiction were the first prey, whilst the great ecclesiastical foundations were reserved for a more favourable opportunity. From the moment that the protectors of Lutheranism usurped to themselves the inheritance of the old Church, we may date the birth of the Protestant Church. The delivery of the Augsburg Confession, in 1530, must be considered as a natural consequence of what had been accomplished in 1525. And now came the question, whether the Emperor would remain silent on the last step of the Lutheran princes; or whether he would not, as the protector of the Roman Church, put forth his strength against those who had fallen off from her tenets." (p. 244-5.)

Notwithstanding the suspicious conduct of Charles the Fifth on this occasion, our author gives him full credit for the sincerity of his attachment to Catholicism, and lays

the whole blame upon the court of Rome, if a true reformation was not sooner brought about at the instigation of the emperor. There are many historical facts which flatly contradict this affirmation; but we shall content ourselves with exposing M. Gfrörer's hypothesis, as nearly as possible, in his own words.

Like most Protestant writers, he has a strong belief in the efficacy of the temporal power to promote religious reforms and the welfare of the Church. And what was the great good which Charles was to win by this interference? A Catholic reader, and even any other, will be startled.

"The Pope," says M. Gfrörer, "would have been forced to accept the Augsburg Confession and the Bible as the highest authority for Christian doctrine. There is no doubt," adds he, "that Charles had no less the power than the will to direct the General Council in such a way as to make true the word he had given to the Lutherans by the Interim. The Roman court trembled before him, and the defeat of the Smalkaldish league struck as much fear into the heart of the Pope, as of the vanquished Protestants themselves. It stands also to reason, that our Emperor, in the further course of negotiations, would have set up a legal barrier against the future encroachments of the Papal See, and the repetition of such excesses as had brought forth the Reformation. At the same time, he would have obliged the German bishops and abbots to purchase the enjoyment of their fiefs by civil and financial sacrifices to a certain extent. The track when once cut out, must have led inevitably to the goal so ardently, so long wished for, by all true friends of their country,—the restoration of Church unity, together with the unity of the empire and the recovery of regal power." (p. 245-6.)

It is somewhat strange, indeed, that so many advantages should have escaped the keen and vigilant eye of the great German emperor. But, however, so it is. M. Gfrörer attributes the miscarriage of this finely spun design to the felony of the famous prince Maurice, of whom our author is no admirer, and whom he represents, on the contrary, as an unprincipled, ambitious adventurer. At the bottom, we rather believe Charles the Fifth to have known the character of our Church better than our Lutheran historian of the nineteenth century. Whatever may have been his secret views, whatever his own soaring hopes, whatever his efforts to restore the imperial authority, even at the expense of religion itself, still we believe him to have been kept back by one grand idea, by one noble scruple,—the

utter uselessness, nay, the sheer folly, of attacking the only solid foundation of temporal power,—*the Catholic Church*. Disgraced as she might then be by the dissoluteness of some portions of her clergy; oppressed as she was by the supporters of superannuated feudalism, and still more by the new upholders of absolutism; though torn suddenly in twain by a gigantic insurrection against her most sacred dogmas, against her most ancient observances, now made a laughing-stock, an object of insult for the wise and the learned; yet, still the Roman Catholic Church had that within her which made her a thing of life, destined to walk the deep and ride the waves until the end of the world. The son of Philip the Fair knew this, believed this, and for this reason did he not venture upon a path which has led on monarchs, even more powerful than he ever was, to their complete ruin.

Another consideration, which has not even escaped M. Gfrörer's notice, must have been constantly running in the mind of Charles the Fifth. Ages had rolled on, the knell of parting feudalism was tolling on the ominous bell of Time, and the world presented one vast scene of confusion and jarring elements;—one creation alone of the mediæval centuries seemed to survive their existence, and that was the Holy Roman Empire. As long as this idea was not extinct, the head of the Empire was the born protector of the Catholic Church, her *episcopus externus*, as it were, and to abjure that supreme qualification would have been to abjure the very essence of the institution itself. Now, as our historian properly observes, had Charles given up this high attribute, what a double force would he have secured to his rival, the King of France! Suppose the latter becoming the avowed protector of German Catholicism, backed as he was by the might of a most powerful kingdom, enthusiastically devoted to its brilliant and youthful monarch, how could the house of Austria have stemmed the torrent? And into what insignificance would the grandson of Maximilian have dwindled in the eyes of the political world! Is there any man in his senses who can for one instant imagine that this highly gifted sovereign was not fully alive to the consequences of such a false piece of policy as would have prompted him to join the Protestant league against the Pope, or, what is exactly the same, to impose upon the latter a string of heretical doc-

trines that would have ruined the very existence of the Catholic faith?

But enough of these worldly considerations. There were within the mysterious designs of Providence reasons of a far higher character to prevent the realization of a plan so monstrous in its nature, so foreign to all the traditions of Catholicism. The successive growth of heresies during the fifteenth century, added to the abuses and vices which degraded too many members of the church, no less than the pagan spirit which accompanied the resurrection of ancient literature and the Machiavelian policy that guided the several courts of Europe, had gradually engendered a mass of corruption unparalleled, we believe, in the annals of Christianity. Men grew tired of the blessings showered down upon them by their antique faith, and imagined that by reviving the obsolete and corrupt pasquinades of paganism, they would at once plunge into an ocean of sensual bliss. If you please to cast the scrutinizing eye of a moralist into the lives of the infatuated literati of those times, what else will you find but a scene fit to disgust the heathen philosopher himself? Divine Providence had, therefore, only to give up these deluded leaders of mankind to their own follies as a sufficient chastisement for their iniquity. The most hair-brained fantasies instead of reformation, tyranny instead of liberty, vice instead of virtue; such was their doom as well as that of their followers. In the meantime, the true Church would rid itself of a huge mass of corruption, and recover that innate strength, that purifying energy which blazed forth to the astonished eyes of the world at the close of the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. And as ages continued to roll on, as nations, in consequence of their deviation from Catholic truth, began to feel the bitter effects of their insanity under the appalling aspect of civil war, religious dissensions, bloody revolutions, pauperism, and the sundry evils brought on by Protestantism, the development of Catholic unity would run on in the same proportion, so as to strike more forcibly than ever the minds of the people by the sight of its peace and immutability when contrasted with the monstrous grievances we have just enumerated.

Such seem to have been, we presume to say, the designs of our Divine lawgiver, in His guidance of Europe during the three last centuries. Catholics and Protestants, believers

and free-thinkers, are insensibly chastening down to that humility which will make them proper recipients for grace, and the church, after her hard trials, will once more enjoy the serene comfort of faith and charity among her children. And now we beg leave to ask, what is the puny conception of German unity or a German autocrat compared to this sublime result? What comparison can we establish between Catholic faith thus progressing towards the furthest extremities of the known world, irradiating the whole universe with the light shining forth from the word of the Most High, with the insignificant fact that a superannuated edifice reared by the hands of those who had long gone their way, should have crumbled to pieces, worm-eaten and weather-beaten as was the throne occupied by the Hapsburg family? What other princes indeed could better deserve their fate by their headstrong opposition to the most beneficial measures of the Roman Pontiff; by their constant support of sectarian views, and by their almost invariable tendency to establish a national church in antagonism against the Universal Church of Christ? That such a high philosophy of history should have escaped the Protestant eye of M. Gfroerer is by no means surprising; but it is the duty of Catholic writers to bring it forth in vivid colours, were it for no other purpose than to obliterate the unphilosophical materialist system that presides over historical compositions of our days.

The picture of the sixteenth century would have been incomplete had not our historian endeavoured to delineate the organization and achievements of a body whose wide influence extended from its very birth over the whole world, whilst its eminent services towards the Catholic Church have made it an object of hatred and obloquy to all kinds of unbelievers. We are speaking of the Jesuits. Notwithstanding the late confessions of a Whig statesman and writer, it was no easy matter for a Protestant to lay down his innate prejudices concerning the sons of Loyola. We must give M. Gfroerer credit for what he has done, and pity him for the blind prepossessions which have made such a keen-sighted writer echo back the absurd accusations of regicide, and utter regardlessness of means, that fill to nausea, the pages of so many common-place scribblers. Here is a man who brings before our eyes a most noble picture of the energy, the zeal, the abilities, the learning, of the Jesuits—a portrait such as would be deemed partial

if penned by any Catholic author, and who there tells us gravely that the Jesuits blended *crime and virtue* for their purposes; that they won the hearts of the people by piety, real or *affected*; that they actually *practised* regicide! And when you ask this man for his proofs, what do you think is his answer? There is no proof, but it is a *moral certainty, public opinion accused them of this crime!* A moral certainty, indeed! And what tribunal, unless it be among barbarians, would ever condemn a man upon a *moral certainty*? Public opinion again! But what public opinion, if you please? The public opinion of Calvinistic bigots, or of the cringing magistrates belonging to the old French parliaments, who hated the Jesuits for the deadly blows they dealt to their Jansenist, jaundice-eyed tenets. And this, an impartial, cool-minded historian proclaims public opinion! Public opinion with a vengeance then; when shall we have done with this *cant*, which still lets out its impure oozings upon the learned world? For it is indeed ludicrous to suppose that any one but an ignorant fanatic will content himself with the fine conclusion that the Jesuits were too wary to be caught in their crimes; so that we must fain believe, that for three long centuries thousands of enemies who have ransacked historical documents against the Jesuits, should have never been able to catch one single authentic demonstration of their criminality in such important matters. Why, this is subverting the very laws of Providence itself, and trampling upon the ordinary rules of right and wrong, which are the very foundations of society. It would be an instance unknown in the annals of the world; an instance of a whole body of men devoted for ages to the most sublime virtues for the simple purpose of perpetrating the most heinous crimes. For our own part, we are at a loss to conceive how M. Gfroerer could ever lend his name to such a string of nonsensical inferences. In this case, at least, we may say with justice:

*"Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne."*

But now let us come to our quotation.

"The glory of having moulded the Jesuit institute so as to become what it really did become, belongs to the second General, James Laynez, a man who possessed most extraordinary knowledge of the human heart and experience in affairs. If one wished to attain the object of the society, viz. the upholding of the hier-



archy, it was indispensable to give the strongest unity to the order in the midst of its multifarious avocations ; it was indispensable to allure the most eminent men within its bosom ; to monopolize the growing generation in all Catholic lands, and thus to make sure of futurity ; in fine, to lord over the conscience of princes, to render abortive the hostility of antagonists, or, if this was unfeasible, to get rid of them. Above all, the order was to become the vehicle of education. But to gain this end, policy required compliance with the spirit of the age. The sunshine days of monachism were over ; such orders as had hitherto formed a link between the Popedom and the people had outlived their fame : the Franciscans were derided for their ignorance and vulgarity, the Dominicans hated on account of their severity. Instead of the contemplative spirit of former times, the resurrection of science had awakened in the world a longing after practical knowledge and agreeable manners. The Jesuits soon distinguished themselves in the different branches which were then most highly esteemed : theology and the learned languages, mathematics and history, and poetry itself—they understood all, cultivated all. At the same time, they showed themselves gentlemen of the world, both refined in their acquirements and lively in their demeanour. No bigotism, no idle tokens of a merely external piety was to be traced in their behaviour ; even when directing the souls of laymen, they enforced the observances of Catholic piety only when the latter chimed in unison with the disposition of their penitents. They carefully forebore the very appearance of priding themselves upon particular sanctity, and even in their dress they avoided all that was singular. In Catholic countries, their habit was that of the secular clergy ; but wherever this became an obstacle to their admittance, they exchanged it for the usual garments of the country where they resided. They were likewise prescribed to proceed in their spiritual and political concerns with the greatest mildness ; to win men by yielding to their individual tempers, and never to set up even open opposition against their antagonists, or to allow anything passionate to escape them. Again, the Jesuits were to observe the greatest secrecy concerning the rules of their Order, and to accomplish in the dark whatever might give rise to open resistance.

“The direction of their schools was excellent, and most admirably conformable to the wants of youth. A spirit of liberty, combined with an unceasing watchfulness ; a friendly condescension to the pupils ; a wise attention to the preservation of innocence and morals, distinguished from all others the Jesuit colleges, wherein love and confidence went hand in hand. Every combination calculated to excite emulation, such as public lectures, prizes, titles of honour, were used to stimulate diligence ; gymnastic exercises contributed to the strengthening of the body, whilst the manners of the future gentleman in social life were heightened by theatrical representations. Even in the eighteenth century, their system of edu-

cation was considered as the best, and the nobility of Protestant as well as of Catholic lands flocked to their schools. Men who bore a deadly hate to the Church, and persecuted her throughout their whole lives, such as Voltaire, who had himself been educated by the Jesuits, bore a most favourable witness to the ability and zeal of the fathers. Their educational institutions, which arose all around with a most surprising rapidity, became also a nursery for their order, by affording them opportunities of directing young men of talent towards their society. For the choice of these novices, they were guided, not by external connections, not by birth or fortune, but by the circumstance that a young man had ability and a sound education.....

"The extraordinary privileges which the Jesuits owed to the popes, made them an object of no less envy to the Catholic clergy than of hatred to the Protestants. The only monks with whom they stood upon good terms were the Carthusians, who, on account of their vow to preserve perpetual silence, were likewise the only priests, except those of the order, to whom a Jesuit might confess. The society extended in an astonishingly short period of time. At the death of the first general, Ignatius of Loyola, they boasted already of a thousand members, distributed in twelve provinces. With a zeal which recalled the first and finest days of Christianity, they had established the domination of the Pope and faith of the Roman Church in the most distant lands, in India, China, Japan, the Moluccas, Ethiopia, Cafreria, in North and South America. Francis Xavier, who began the missions of the Order in 1541 in Portuguese India, converted hundreds of thousands to Christianity during his travels, and died on his way to China in 1551, with the reputation of a most heroic devotedness, which earned him the title of *Apostle of the Indies*, and the honours of canonization. In old Europe, their activity was in no ways behindhand, though it bore a different form, because here there were no heathens to convert. At the close of the sixteenth century they had long been in possession of flourishing establishments in Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, England, in the Low Countries, in Catholic Germany, such as Austria, Bavaria, and Poland. The most different characters, from the ardent enthusiast, who sought for death in the promotion of Catholic faith to the most practical genius; from the cool-headed learned thinker to the wildest zealot; from the noble soul burning with the spirit of the Gospel to the most crafty statesman; from innocence to crime;—all served the order in an harmonious unison, contributing to its grandeur, because under the perpetual watchfulness and the eminent spirit which governed the whole body, each force obtained its proper sphere of action and in accordance with that whole. Whilst ardent minds thirsting after martyrdom laboured in far-laid missions, and frequently obtained the object of their ambition, in Europe, other Jesuits, deeply versed in learning, attacked the Protestants in their books; others again won the hearts

of the people by real or affected sanctity, or spun their nets round the consciences and understandings of noblemen, princes, and kings, by the most subtle arts and measures. There were Jesuits who buckled the cuirass over their cassock, and fought as engineers in the Thirty Years' War. If peaceful means, craft, and persuasion served not their ends, they sought to attain it through sheer force. *If all probabilities be not false*, they did not only preach, but practise regicide. It is admitted that the Emperor Maximilian II., a prince favourable to Protestants, was to have been poisoned in his twenty-fourth year. Now this plot strangely coincides with the first appearance of the Jesuits in Austria. Public opinion attributed likewise to them the murder of the Prince of Orange. That it was they who whetted the poniard which killed Henry the Fourth of France is a moral certainty, though it is still *juridically* unproved. The murderous attempt made, as we shall show hereafter, against the life of Gustavus Adolphus, was laid by that very prince to their door. *That the guilt of such a crime could not be proved against the Order, is by no means a demonstration of its innocence.* The Jesuits would not have been either so crafty or so prudent as they really were, had they allowed themselves to be discovered."—pp. 255—260.

The *reservatum ecclesiasticum*, it is well known, was the principal, if not the very first cause of the conflagration which, during a period of thirty years, covered Europe with bloodshed and ruin. The reformed princes had promised in 1555 that in case of any dignity of the Catholic Church apostatizing to their persuasion, he should give up his lands, on the plea that the original donors had never intended that these pious foundations should fall into the hands of heretics. That it was not their intention to observe this clause of the Augsburg treaty, can hardly be denied, if we consider their subsequent conduct and their leading maxims of policy. Among the latter we may justly reckon the monstrous idea that prevailed at that period, relative to the obligation under which subjects stood of adhering to the religion of their sovereign. The words *cujus regio, ejus religio*, laconically expressed this newly-invented and perverse dogma. In the eyes of the Protestants, this was merely an allurement to despoil the Church of all her property. On this head there can remain no doubt, after M. Gfrörer's own confessions. On the authority of Ranke, he attributes this invasion to the Catholic party, a circumstance in no ways qualified to give us a high idea of their sincerity and pure zeal for religion.

"This new right," says he, "was laid down in the formula, *cujus regio, ejus religio* ; a most wrong principle, which struck out with one stroke of the pen the religious freedom of the German nation, and degraded it to the rank of Helots. But it is not at all surprising that things should have taken this turn. Instead of *religion*, write down the words *Church lands*, and the sense becomes clear enough. It will then run thus : The Church lands shall belong to him who is the master of them. The more serious question, concerning the faith of the subjects, then becomes a secondary one, such as it really was, and must be answered by the decision of the first. If a prince be desirous of usurping the lands lying within his own possession, it stands to reason that he must needs unroll the standard of the new doctrines, in order to justify his robbery. The treaty of Augsburg exposed to the whole world the secret views which guided the German aristocracy from the very beginning in regard to the Reformation. Doubtless Luther's intentions were pure when he commenced his great work ; doubtless he wished to serve the cause of God : but those under whose protection he stood, and whom he made the princes of the new-born Church, had no other object in sight but worldly advantages, but the aggrandizement of their own dominions, of their own power, and this object, which had hitherto been glossed over with all sorts of masks and pretensions, broke forth to light in the intoxication of victory." —p. 248.

It would be difficult to set forth in more striking language the disgraceful dispositions of the German princes when they embraced Luther's tenets. The constant interference of government in affairs of religion and the establishment of national churches, became henceforward the prominent feature of the period ; it is perceivable in every direction, even where it is least to be expected. The democratic and anarchical spirit of Calvinism bore the stamp of this fatal tendency, and the Catholic hierarchy itself, judiciously observes our author, was obliged to lean more than it would otherwise have done, on the strong arm of power, in order to maintain its position against its audacious antagonists.

In regard to Calvinism this is certainly one of the most remarkable instances of its fickleness and pliancy to circumstances which history can produce. Whatever may have been the stern tyranny of Calvin in his own city of Geneva, nevertheless his system was undoubtedly favourable to democratical forms of government. Hence the easy introduction it found in the Low Countries and among the peasantry of the Rhine ; hence the anarchical

tendencies it assumed in France at the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. In Germany, however, the case was very different. Lutherans and Catholics were both bitter in their animadversion against men who were intent upon destroying every remnant of what had been held sacred and Christian since the very dawn of our religion. Still the Calvinists succeeded in obtaining a firm footing in Germany; but in what manner and by what means we shall leave to our author to tell.

"We once more repeat, what we asserted before: Lutheranism *threatened* the futurity of Europe with the most serious dangers, not only because, within its own pale, it laid at the feet of princes all civil and ecclesiastical power, but likewise because it obliged its opponents, the Catholic clergy, to purchase the assistance of kings at the price of a blind submission quite unknown to the middle ages. Had Lutheranism remained alone with the old Church, according to all probabilities, the western world would have witnessed a system of servitude paralleled only in the Byzantine Empire and the Levant. For what does distinguish the Latino-German nations from the despotic and enslaved tribes of the east, if it be not that constant vindication of the ideal world, that characteristic opposition of spiritual and civil government, with its natural consequences, viz. the ponderation of royal, clerical, and popular power by each other? Now, it was not the fault of Lutheranism, if Europe was not bereft of these blessings."

After such an admission we are hardly prepared to attribute their preservation to Calvinism; yet such is M. Gfrörer's singular conclusion. The more singular indeed, that we have but to turn over a few pages to see a flat contradiction of his affirmation. He himself compares the Calvinistic fanaticism and fury to that of the Mahometans of the middle ages, and in the secret affinity of their tenets sees the reason of the alacrity with which the Protestants espoused the cause of the Turks on many an occasion. But a still more striking instance of their proneness to crouch before the will of princes is, as we said above, their conduct in Germany. The passage we allude to is too important to allow any omission.

"In the territories belonging to the princes, the democratical genius of Calvinism, which was fed from without by Holland, could not thrive unless the reformed clergy countenanced a similar tendency. This was very far from being the case. The character of the German people has proved so truly aristocratical from its very

birth, such as depicted by Tacitus, down to the scribbling government of actual Protestantism, that on this ground the Calvinistic Church could not develop her democratical principles, but modified a most important part of her organization. The reformed preachers showed themselves no less zealous courtiers than their Lutheran contemporaries, whom they, however, pretended to look upon as creatures of an inferior cast. Ever breaking forth into revilings against the Romish Antichrist and the Pope; into the most odious accusations against the German Emperor, and the constitution of the state which they were impudent enough to call a miracle of the devil; they nevertheless found all the encroachments which their gracious lords, the petty Calvinist princes, made on the clergy and people, dispensations of a most equitable and natural character. On the one hand, so much obedience certainly caused great pleasure; but on the other, it was pregnant with lamentable consequences. Among the worst of these we reckon the unhappy circumstance, that of the many good municipal laws, of that popular feeling, of that ability to shape a government congenial to the wants of the times, which marked the progress of Calvinism in other countries, not one spark was kindled in our own land; no, not even did it use its democratical force to avenge upon the princes themselves the utter forgetfulness of divine and human duties with which they introduced a new sort of religion within the empire. But for that very reason the more luxuriantly do we then see shoot forth the very worst offsprings of Calvinism: its thirst after destruction, its proud contempt for all that was permanent, its hatred against historical traditions. The powerful men of this world are ever ready to turn off to their own selfish account the religious belief which in general is seriously adhered to only by the middle and unfortunate classes. What a help must this disposition offer to a party whose clergymen daily preached before the sovereign, and maintained that Catholicism was a complete, and Lutheranism a demi-system of idolatry; that the Pope was the whore of Babylon, of whom John speaks in his Apocalypse; the German empire an offspring of superstition, priestly craft, and nonsense; whilst the popish clergy, that princely vanguard of Rome, deserved to be utterly ruined! In fact, the political heads of German Calvinism dreamt of nothing else but Church robbery and destruction."—(p. 468-469.)

If such were the *clerical* representatives of Protestantism in Germany, its political leaders, during the Thirty Years' War, were truly worthy of the tools they employed, and by whom they were likewise turned to account. The picture of the different Protestant courts of those times, such as M. Gfroerer draws them, provokes both contempt and disgust: they alternately cringe before the emperor when they fear him, or at the feet of Gustavus when his strong arm forces them into the combinations which he



arrays against the house of Austria. In regard to their individual selfishness and flagrant immorality in private life, it would disgust the reader, were we to follow our writer in his laudable exertions to inflict condign punishment upon these miscreants, and to hold them out to posterity with their true features. There are, however, two or three among these worthies who are entitled to more consideration, because they played a more prominent part in the politics of those days. We mean, in particular, the Electors of Saxony and of Brandenburg. If, henceforward, German Protestantism be proud of these men, it will certainly not evince a high sense of religious or moral virtue.

To begin by George William, Elector of Brandenburg, he was a complete nullity as well as a profligate debauchee. His sister Eleanora had married the King of Sweden, and he had thus unwillingly become bound, through this relationship, to Swedish politics. This prince was constantly governed by his favourites, and of the qualities which attached him to these we may judge by a most striking example. Curt von Burgsdorf, his confidential adviser, enjoyed the rare gift of swallowing eighteen measures of wine in one sitting, and of this he was exceedingly proud in that drinking age. After the accession to the throne of George William's successor, he one day expressed himself in the following manner: "In the days of your father, things went on much better than they do now; for then indeed we used to drink brandy, and now and then one might get a castle or a village by hard drinking: well I remember the time when in one meal I could send down eighteen measures." It is a matter of course that his ducal master vied with him in these feats: however Burgsdorf had other means of maintaining himself in favour. He was the Elector's purveyor of *beauties*, piqued himself upon being an excellent *entremetteur*, as the French style those persons, and generally presided over the public or private pleasures of that disgraceful court. Nay, he even sought to justify the amorous propensities of his lord by sentences of a political cast. "A Prince Elector," he was wont to say, "ought to give himself up to gallantry, in order not to have too many legitimate children, because as these cannot all obtain principalities, some of them must become beggar-princes." The eye witness whom we here follow gives some finishing touches which evidently show that he drew from nature.

• “Curt von Burgsdorf is full of humbug and bombast, notwithstanding the presence of the Elector and the other lords. He even pretends to divine revelations. On one occasion, he said, he was leading a troop of horsemen through Germany, on a road where he ran the risk of being cut to pieces ; but God admonished him in a dream to decamp and cut his way through and through. He constantly insults and turns into ridicule every one of his prince's neighbours :—the Swedes are a set of dog keepers, the Dutch a pack of hares, pepper-boxes, &c. He is as bulky as a hog'shead of wine, can keep no secret, whatever may be its importance. In any secret council, even before the prince, he calls out and bawls so loud that every one without can hear him : so he overpowers everybody, without excepting his master, brings all opinions to his own conclusion, and makes every one dance to his flute. His whole life has been one continued series of debauchery with harlots, drunkards, dice, night raking, and dancing. And yet he is not in the least ashamed of this, but boasted at the prince's table that on one evening he lost 80,000 rix dollars, swearing by his share in the book of Life (his greatest oath) that he told them down honourably. Besides, Burgsdorf has drunk forty fellows to their death, the first of whom was a nobleman at the court of Saxony, not reckoning a hundred other tricks which he would not confess were he to suffer torture for it. He holds an estate more than princely, has numerous stables full of princely horses, a crowd of costly coaches and chariots. He has likewise his own lackeys, gentlemen, governors, councillors, secretaries, trumpeters, just as if he was a great prince. He possesses no less than four hundred dresses, to which he is continually adding new ones. He is, besides, such a horrible swearer, that in this he acknowledges no master, and has always a thousand devils at his command. Towards his lord and sovereign he shows no kind of respect ; remains seated when the prince is standing before him, or walks to and fro ; makes him repeat the same question three times ere he gives an answer, just as if the prince were his servant ; allows himself to upbraid publicly the prince's actions ; often leans upon his right arm when the latter happens to be on his right side ; or even shows him his back parts. His table is most sumptuous : when on the prince's there is not a single piece of venison, his own groans under the weight of it ; and if in the prince's cellar there is not one drop of wine, you would find in Burgsdorf's barrel heaped upon barrel, pipe upon pipe, hog'shead upon hog'shead. He likewise holds the prince so sparingly, that the latter is obliged to borrow money of him even for gambling ; sometimes he likewise says openly, ‘A favourite desirous of keeping his ground must act in this way.’ Burgsdorf is as selfish and miserly as the devil himself ; abstains from no artifice in order to win money, and thus keep up his debaucheries. As for his lord's honour and welfare, that is the slightest of his cares ; in law-suits he suffers himself to be corrupted by the parties, bending and warping justice

according to the will of the man who offers him the most. Under the cover of his high command over the militia, he impoverishes and fleeces the prince. In all negotiations in which the Elector's name comes forward, he invariably reserves a few thousands to himself; selling the offices to the highest bidders, without any regard to their capacity, or whether they are not bitter papists and reformers. He proudly breaks open the seal of every letter addressed to the prince, and after reading it sends it up to him; or if such be his pleasure, he frequently does not communicate it to him at all, or by small scraps. Most of his confidants are suspected of sorcery. However he has made himself completely master of the prince, and watches him so narrowly that no one can speak to him but with Burgsdorf's good will, and in the presence of some one or other; so that one might truly deem the Elector to be his prisoner or hostage."

This minute description, written by an avowed Calvinist, gives us, we trust, a thorough knowledge of the court and prince we are speaking of. It would hardly seem credible, were not its admissions confirmed by sundry other proofs, which admit of no doubt whatsoever. Burgsdorf continued to enjoy his ill-acquired influence under the present, and even under the following reign. But what an idea such a man's government and vices convey of the princes who bestowed their favours upon similar upstarts! What an idea it conveys also of the Protestant clergy who submitted, almost without a murmur, to such a total dereliction of all moral principle, as would have shamed a pagan philosopher!

And again, we repeat with M. Gfroerer, that the other German princes were much of the same character and manners. He sums up the merits of each party in a few words, which have much weight in his mouth, and thus are calculated to make a deep impression on the reader's mind.

"Though the Protestants," says he, "were apparently superior in point of numbers and external strength, yet in reality they were inferior to the Catholics. It must be admitted that moral strength and virtue were on the side of the latter. Thanks to the triumphant career of the Reformation, the Catholic princes were now placed in a predicament which made them fear the worst for their very existence, no less than for their faith, and forced them to bethink themselves of forthcoming events. Their tutors, the Jesuits, were likewise far superior to the Lutheran court preachers, to whom the Protestant grandees lent a docile ear. Better manners prevailed within the Catholic court, whilst the Protestant princes, who had

now become so many little Popes, in consequence of the peace of religion, but too frequently laid aside all shame. It is indeed surprising to what a low level the morals of the Protestant party had descended since Luther's time. Drunkenness, especially at court, had become so fashionable, that the diet thought it necessary to send forth the following admonishment: 'The electors, princes, and states ought to avoid setting their subjects the example of drunkenness.' Other vices went hand in hand with this. High play then attained its wildest frenzy. The Jews became, as well as goldsmiths, an indispensable appendage of a court, and with them a most astounding government formed of princely mistresses. The prince elector, Joachim II., of Brandenburg, kept a whole band of concubines, but they did not prevent him from practising usury along with his Jews; and at the expense of his hard-oppressed subjects, he built a tolerable number of pleasure seats, in which he celebrated his orgies. The prince elector of Saxony, had made himself a cripple through his immoderate taste for drink, and his unbridled licentiousness. The other princes were not behind-hand. Germany was now to taste the bitter fruits of the total want of fear or reverence towards the Church and Emperor, caused among the aristocracy by this deep degeneracy of the Reformation. Doubtless, among the Catholic princes there were some who suffered themselves to be hurried along by the torrent. The majority, however, set a better example. The Emperors Maximilian II. and Ferdinand II. were distinguished for their modesty, whilst Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, was a sworn enemy to wild debauchery. The Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, married the beautiful Philippine Welser, a burgher's daughter, and the Duke William, of Bavaria, took for his wife Maria Pettenbek. If such marriages were contrary to the customs of courts, nevertheless they did but show the better a strong feeling of morality, for these princes would not degrade to the condition of concubines, the women whom they loved." (p. 268-269.)

Such was the real state of things in Germany when Gustavus Adolphus resolved to invade that country, assuming the part of a Liberator, a defender of Protestant rights and liberties. The defeat of Christian IV., king of Denmark, by Tilly, and the conquests of Wallenstein, had humbled the insurgents so much, that the Emperor Ferdinand II. was then as powerful as Charles V. after the battle of Muhlberg. It would have been a favourable moment to restore peace and tranquillity to the distracted country; and this might perhaps have happened, had not the jealousy of the Catholic princes themselves deprived Ferdinand of his best general, whilst the intrigues of

France constantly tended to excite new difficulties and divisions.

The king of Sweden had just concluded a treaty of peace with Poland, after a successful and bloody war; he pretended to be called over by the German Protestants, though subsequent events showed how untrue was this position, and that he simply followed the impulse of his own ambition. It was with the greatest difficulty that he succeeded in obtaining the compliance of his own subjects to his daring enterprize. They had been engaged for many long years in an arduous struggle against the Poles, their pecuniary means were next to exhausted, but the ability of their monarch, added to his overpowering influence, precipitated them into a series of wars in which they rose to great political and military glory, but after which they sunk into insignificance and comparative weakness. It would seem that this gigantic effort exhausted the strength of Sweden. Very different in this respect from France of our own days, which so soon recovered from the disaster of Waterloo, and of a double invasion.

M. Gfrörer produces many authentic proofs that the real object of Gustavus was to place the imperial crown upon his own head after the total annihilation of the house of Austria. Even supposing that his triumphant career had not been arrested by a premature death on the field of battle, it is hardly possible to conceive how this plan could have been accomplished. Though the Catholic populations of southern Germany might be vanquished, as they really were, on the field of battle, it would have proved a sheer impossibility to maintain for any length of time a Protestant government among the stubborn peasantry of Bavaria, who spontaneously opposed to the Northern conqueror a desperate resistance, which was not unlike the patriotism of the Spaniards in our own century, when they had to defend their nationality against the ambition of Napoleon. On the other hand, is it to be supposed, that either Ferdinand, or the celebrated Wallenstein, or Maximilian of Bavaria, would have tamely submitted to such a humiliation? The Protestant princes themselves were by no means desirous of exchanging their present condition for the strict rule of a prince whose manners and habits were not at all congenial to the Germans. However demonstrative they might be in their professions to the king of the Swedes, when his victorious army over-

ran their dominions, they secretly hated the man who despised their vices no less than their dastard policy. He was too keen-sighted not to know that the loss of a single battle would make them turn against him with the same fickleness which had prompted them to desert the true interest of their own nation.

And then, if we cast our eye towards France and Spain, is it not evident that Richelieu, so intent upon humbling the house of Austria, would however have never permitted the establishment of a foe, still more formidable, at his very door? Gustavus had reserved to himself the possession of the largest ecclesiastical demesnes along the Rhine, and thus would have ever been ready, at a moment's warning, to pour his armies into the very heart of France. That this did not really happen may probably be attributed to the premature fate which the Swedish monarch met with on the field of Lutzen; for Gustavus had already threatened to visit Louis XIII. with a body guard of 100,000 men, in Paris. A war with France appeared unavoidable, and Richelieu was not a man to quake before the *northern conqueror*. Thus the whole weight of the French monarchy would have been thrown into the balance, in order to restore the rights of Catholicism in Germany, and avert a peril which now menaced the very existence of Christendom itself.

That the invader had to encounter great difficulties when he landed on the shores of Pomerania, is rendered evident by the conduct of the Protestant princes and towns. No where was he received with pleasure; and he succeeded in obtaining a sure footing only by sheer force, and by showing that he would seize such places as were necessary for the success of his expedition, if they were not given up into his hands with good will. The treaty he concluded with the Duke Bogislas was of such a nature as to ensure the possession of the duchy to the crown of Sweden, in case the reigning sovereign should die without posterity, a circumstance which afterward actually took place. This was not at all calculated to inspire the Protestant princes with a high idea of the disinterestedness of the king, whatever might be his boastings on this score. Had Wallenstein been still at the head of the Emperor's military concerns, it is more than probable that Gustavus would have repented his rashness in venturing with such small forces into a foreign and still powerful country, notwithstanding



the enfeeblement caused by the ravages of the late war. Unfortunately the Imperial commanders were far from being equal to the Swedish monarch in military talent, and were successively beaten from their positions. But even as it was, Adolphus made but little progress in regard to alliances, until the battle of Breitenfeld, against Tilly, in which that hero was completely defeated. The Protestants were too much afraid of the Emperor's ascendancy to venture upon any bold measure to support the cause of their foreign ally.

"The great reigning princes of the empire," says M. Gfrörer, "who had anything to lose, such as the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, held themselves aloof. The Duke Bogislas, of Pomerania, whose liberator Adolphus pretended to be, beseeched him, at the very moment he was setting sail, to stay at home. In fact, whatever might be the wishes of the Protestant people in northern Germany in favour of the promised arrival of their deliverer, Gustavus Adolphus had nothing to expect from the princes until he should have inspired confidence through victory. He had indeed endeavoured to sow dissension between the high aristocracy and the Emperor, by keeping up a correspondence with them, in 1629, by sorely accusing the Emperor, and by offering to play the part of an arbiter. But he had failed in his attempt. Through fear of Ferdinand, the electoral college had returned evasive replies to the king's letters, and went so far as to refuse him the regal title, a circumstance which he complained of.....One sees that on the day of his landing, Gustavus could rely on nothing else but his sword and on the deadly divisions that had broken out between the Emperor and the Catholic League." (p. 701-702.)

It is indeed highly remarkable, that even after his first victories, the only new adherents of the invader were such of the petty princes as had been already deprived of their estates, or who were accustomed to sell their services to the highest bidder. But these very turncoats were almost to a man intent upon obtaining of their new employer, conditions which would not oblige them to fight against the Emperor; a most absurd condition, and as such scornfully rejected by the invader.

It is somewhat singular, that his brother-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg, was the most backward of all in proffering assistance to Gustavus. But this may be ascribed to the influence of a politician, whose features are very properly and very forcibly brought out by M. Gfrörer. This was the Count of Schwarzenberg, a Protestant, but

at the same time, a man who was in no ways blind to the secret views of the Swedish monarch. He was well aware that the mad precipitation which threw some of the German nobility into the arms of Adolphus, could but end in the humiliation of the princes. In case the latter should triumph with their help, they would only exchange a national for a foreign master, far more rigorous than his predecessor; but in case of the king's defeat, the Emperor would most certainly wreak his vengeance upon them. The crafty Schwarzenberg devised a plan to avert both these fatal results. It consisted in inducing all the Protestant States to coalesce their forces, in order to form a third party, destined to observe a strict neutrality between the two contending powers, and, according to circumstances, to throw the weight of their influence into either scale, so as to decide the question. Matters went so far as to give rise to four different parties within the realm, of which two, the Emperor and the Protestants, espoused sincerely the cause of peace; whilst the two others, the Catholic League and Gustavus, were momentarily forced into the same policy. Had Schwarzenberg's design been followed out, it is probable that the Thirty Years' War would have terminated much sooner; as it was, however, it only led to a convention between the Protestant princes at Leipzig, which was a complete failure, in consequence of their own divisions and cowardice. M. Gfrörer seems to lay a particular stress upon this political invention. "Had a Protestant armed force been able to interfere," says he, "its representatives might have held the following language, both to the Swedes and Imperialists: 'Cancel the edict of restitution; grant sufficient guarantees to freedom of conscience, and to the empire an honourable peace; or otherwise we will join the Swede, and then you are utterly lost.' The Emperor and the League would doubtless have yielded in such circumstances. This once gained, the second, and still more satisfactory measure was yet to come. It would then have been possible to tell the Swede: 'When you entered the empire, you declared that you aspired to nothing for yourself; that your only object was to obtain the free practice of the evangelical religion, and the restoration of German freedom. Well, this object is now attained; here are some pieces of gold for your trouble. But if you conceal any other purpose, know that we, the German Protestants, uniting with our allies, the

German Catholics, we are resolved to kill you, Swedes, wherever you go; to cut you down and drown you in the Oder, in the Haff, or in the sea. So, ye strangers, be off, or it will go hard with you.'” (p. 744.)

Such is the homely yet strong language which our author puts into the mouth of his neutral party, and though there is some truth in his reasoning, we are more struck with its general fallacy. It is no difficult task, in our days of religious and political indifference, to establish those rules of neutrality, and combine coalitions of the character we are speaking of; but how is such a thing possible when all the passions and energies of man are goaded to madness by a long series of bloodshed and devastation? To the Protestant princes of Germany, whatever might be their own vices, the idea of combining their efforts with the Catholics, would have always appeared a sort of apostasy; whilst their own interest invited them not to rely upon the annulling of an edict which might have been not less easily re-established after the expulsion of the Swedish monarch. But a fact, admitted by M. Gfrörer himself, shows how dangerous it is for a historian to apply the ideas of his own time to another. The Emperor was by no means hostile to this famous plan; being disposed to grant reasonable conditions to the reformed princes, and add their strength to his own against the common enemy. And yet, even with this advantage, the plan proved abortive, and every one of those who had either hoped, or pretended to hope, for its success, were ere long hurried anew into the whirlwind which carried all before it. What better proof can we produce against its feasibility? But at the same time, the repeated efforts which many members of the Protestant aristocracy made to obtain Adolphus' consent, that they might be considered as neutral in his quarrel with the Emperor, show quite as powerfully how very backward they were in considering the invader as the bulwark of their faith, or the protector of German liberty. It is almost useless to add, that their demands were rejected with disdain.

It was evident besides, that the unfortunate divisions of the Catholic party were highly favourable to the development of the Swede's plans, and that he felt the strength of his position. At the head of an army long inured to a strict discipline and to victory, having to cope with an adversary, (Tilly,) who was equally obliged to follow the

impulse of the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, Gustavus was sure in the long-run of forcing his hesitating allies into compliance with his will. The time was indeed now come when he might enlarge, or rather, discover his secret views. The impolicy of the court of Vienna, had thrown the Elector of Saxony into his party, and the battle of Brietenfeld allowed him to turn his victorious arms towards any part of the Imperial States. It is well known that his hatred for the Catholic Church induced him to attack the ecclesiastical States along the Rhine, in order to tear to pieces that *nest of parsons*, as Bernard of Wiemar was pleased to call them. His real reason was, however, of a different sort. Had his only object been to deliver Protestant Germany from the Emperor's thralldom, his best course was doubtless to march on to Vienna, as another conqueror did repeatedly in our own days. The Restitution edict being once cancelled, he would have been proclaimed the Machabæus of Protestantism; and after dictating favourable conditions for himself and brethren, he might have returned to Sweden and finished his reign in peace. Instead of this, he was intent upon conquering Germany, and for this reason he turned aside to the Rhine, and did not push the Emperor to desperate extremities, a circumstance which would have deprived him at once of the nimbus of a religious hero, now the firmest foundation of his reputation.

"For, indeed," observes M. Gfrærer, "if the Swedes had appeared without encountering any serious obstacle before the walls of Vienna, the Emperor would have annulled the Restitution edict, for which Gustavus had, on a thousand occasions, declared that he had rushed into this war. With this the Protestant States and princes would have declared themselves satisfied. And then, what would the Swedes have wished for more? A thousand square miles of good land and the southern coasts of the Baltic sea? Why, in this case, both Catholics and Protestants would have united against the king; the public opinion would have turned away from him; for the hated conqueror would have stood forth in all his nakedness. What alarm did the Elector of Saxony, and the king's other allies betray, when Adolphus made the citizens of Augsburg swear allegiance to the Swedish crown! And if this was the case for one single town, what would have been done when the Swedes aspired to seize the whole country? Consider the question as you please, a march to Vienna would unavoidably have placed the monarch in a most false situation. He could not, therefore, think of leaving the Church lands, on which he had played the part of a

Protestant combatant, before he had made more important conquests, and was able to secure to his adherents more solid arguments than theological disputations." (p. 870-871.)

In consequence of these secret plans, Gustavus Adolphus overran the delightful regions where the vine flings its tendrils, and mantles with its richest hues the hills of southern Germany. He advanced successively towards Bayreuth and Nuremberg, whilst some of his lieutenants undertook the conquest of the Rhenish lands. It was one of his principal objects to win the good will of the free cities, whose strong bias in favour of Protestantism he was perfectly acquainted with. Gustavus was a perfect master in the art of flattering the populace, and that art he now applied with far better success than when he had courted the alliance of princes. The free towns proved indeed to the last the most useful and most sincere friends of the Swedes: thanks more particularly to the Lutheran clergy, highly flattered by the monarch's courtiers, and to the vanity of the citizens and burghers, delighted beyond description to behold the *humility* and affability of the victorious hero. The reader will probably be glad to know how things were managed on such occasions. The town of Erfurt was ready to strike an alliance with the king, but no less desirous of being freed from a Swedish garrison. This of course would not do; and after much cavilling, Gustavus put an end to all dispute by seizing upon the city by surprise. This was no unusual thing with the Swedes. After gracefully receiving the magistracy and corporations, he made a fine speech, says his secretary Chemnitz, before the people: "It is for the cause of God, for the enfranchisement of the Christian Church," said he, "that I left my palace in Stockholm, that I flew to arms, and that I have not yet laid them down. Long ago could I have obtained favourable conditions of peace for myself, had I consented to abandon my brethren in faith and blood. But no—I would lose fortune, blood, life, all, rather than betray German freedom. To be sure, I am yet unwounded and safe; but I am once more about to go forth against my bitter enemies, who are intent upon getting me out of the way through all means, foul and fair. Perhaps God will allow fortune to leave me, and deprive me both of health and life; but yet I turn not away from this danger. I am firmly convinced that without God's high permission nothing harmful can happen me, and that all the obstacles

opposed to my calling, though they may seem insurmountable to human reason, will bring me to my object. I should deem myself most fortunate were the Lord Jesus Christ to think me worthy of suffering crosses, misfortunes, danger, or even death for His dear name!" In this sort of preaching way did Gustavus continue to exhort the good citizens to follow his example and make the necessary sacrifices to their cause, and ended in entrusting his wife to their care.

It is impossible not to see that the king wanted to gull the people, and in this he succeeded the more completely as there was no resisting his power. We have great admiration for devotedness and christian self-renouncement; but above all we hate cant, and the Swede's speeches as well as his conduct too often remind us of another celebrated warrior named Cromwell, who was equally versed in the art of using sacred and biblical catch-words to infatuate and fanaticize his hearers. At any rate, the real pith and meaning of the king's fine speeches were shown in his dealings, for he kept the town for himself, and entrusted it to the care of one of his German confederates, who had likewise the command of Thuringia; but Adolphus was too prudent not to leave a Swedish garrison behind him. From Erfurt the king turned to the Catholic city and bishopric of Wurzburg, which was carried by storm and forced to take the oath of allegiance to the Swedish crown, so that the conqueror's designs became more and more apparent. It would be useless to follow him through his triumphant course in Franconia, and along the Rhine, which were soon subdued, though Tilly was hastening on his track. All these are well known facts, and we rather choose to select for our remarks such acts as offer a clue to the intricate history of this eventful period. In vain did France now endeavour to stop the progress of the torrent she had herself so assiduously contributed to let forth upon Germany; her efforts only added new strength to its fury. The Catholic party having sued for the boon of peace, the king of Sweden offered such conditions as at once removed the veil by which he sought to cover the mystery of his ambition. Amongst other stipulations we observe the following: 1. The Jesuits are to be banished from the whole empire as the prime authors of all evils, and disturbers of the general peace. 2. FROM A FEELING OF GRATEFULNESS FOR THE RESCUE OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE,



HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF SWEDEN WAS TO BE ELECTED KING OF THE ROMANS. Nothing could be more glaring than this revelation, and if the Catholics had consented to accept such terms, they would indeed have been worthy of their fate. Fortunately this was not the case, and we shall soon see how gloriously the Duke of Bavaria defended the land of his forefathers. In the meantime, Gustavus Adolphus lost no opportunity to manifest how ardently he thirsted after the grand object of his wishes. He refused to replace the Elector Palatine Frederic the Fifth in his newly recovered possessions, in order to add this territory to the lands which the Swedish arms had conquered along the Rhine, and thus form a new foundation for his own imperial power in Germany. Gustavus likewise offered the Elector of Brandenburg to marry his son with the king's daughter Christina, promising at the same time to make his future son-in-law Elector of Mentz and Duke of Franconia, provided George William would help him in the accomplishment of other plans. On another occasion, the monarch refused to sanction a treaty with one of the German princes, because his brother refused to acknowledge Adolphus as his lord paramount. Again, another duke is forced to hold all his lands and demesnes of *his royal Majesty, his heirs and successors*. The Protestant nobility were in no ways behind-hand in servility to the invader, totally forgetful of any feeling of patriotism, if they could but share the spoils he had won from his antagonists. They would first have taken his last bit of land, says M. Gförrer, and then have made him their liege lord. But in this they mistook their man; he was profuse of promises, but very spare of giving; and when he did give, it was on such conditions as bound them fast to himself. But this very conduct soon cooled the zeal of his confederates; the Swedish alliance began to weigh heavy on their shoulders; some of them even ventured so far as to disobey the monarch's orders, and things were becoming ripe for a reaction against him when he fell on the field of Lutzen.

From Franconia, the king marched forth into Bavaria, the seat of the Catholic league, and of his arch-enemy Maximilian. He had offered the latter such conditions as it would have been dishonourable to accept, and the noble duke preferred every sacrifice to infamy. The death of Tilly had at once deprived him of the only general worthy of being opposed to Gustavus, and of the last army he could

levy. Faithful to the dying recommendations of the old warrior, he had shut himself up in Ratisbon, which was the very key of the whole country on account of its position on the Danube: there he was resolved to conquer or to perish in the attempt. He had some good reasons likewise to reckon upon the fidelity and patriotism of his subjects. Under his vigilant and paternal government, they alone, in all Germany, had enjoyed peace and plenty at home, whilst they were proud of the influence and glory their sovereign had acquired in this bloody contest. Hitherto the Swedes had found support and favour among the conquered Germans; but now they came to a country where religion and patriotism fired the inhabitants with the most bitter hatred against them. Here, there was no division, no seeds of dissension between the nation and its governors, spiritual and temporal. Everything contributed to create what M. Gfroerer is pleased to call a bad public opinion, but what we are far more disposed to term a right, a strong feeling of faith and honour. There prevailed among the old Bavarians of those times a general yearning for their religion, which reminds us of the Spaniards, when another conqueror invaded their country. At any rate, this adamant link between the Bavarians and their government became, as is always the case, the germ of future power and influence. In vain did the king of Sweden endeavour to win them over through mildness; in vain did he enforce with more rigour than ever the laws of military discipline upon his own troops; the Bavarian population turned a deaf ear to every solicitation. They considered Gustavus as Antichrist himself, and never failed to add to their usual prayers: "Lord, deliver us from our arch-enemy, the Swedish devil!" In their eyes, all means were allowable to get rid of their foes. A Swede could not venture from his camp without running the risk of being cut down by the peasantry; too fortunate indeed when his nose was not slit in two, when his arms were not chopped off, his eyes plucked out, and other mutilations of a no less horrid kind inflicted. In this state was the unfortunate left till death put an end to his sufferings. No safeguard could protect the prisoners from the popular fury. Outrages like these of course occasioned reprisals which bore the same character of reckless cruelty. Hence the war at once assumed an aspect more worthy of cannibals and savages than of Christians or civilized men. The infuriate soldiery

invariably set fire to the villages, drove the peasantry into the flames, and burned all together. Bavaria was soon a blackened and smoking heap of ruins; its flowery lawns, verdant valleys, and majestic woodlands that had been fattening for the last fourteen years, whilst all around was an immense scene of barrenness and desolation, were now in their turn given up to conflagration and sterility. But still enough remained to enrich the victor; the Swedes revelled in this new land of promise, which soon made them forget their boasted discipline. Gustavus endeavoured in vain to repress their excesses; his will was not sufficiently strong to stem the torrent, and he was perhaps obliged to overlook the delinquencies of men who had hitherto borne the greatest hardships, but now expected to find ample compensation for their long sufferings in the enemy's country.

The city of Munich soon fell into the possession of Gustavus Adolphus. He made his entry in company with Frederic V., the pseudo-king of Bohemia, who enjoyed the pleasure of parading in the capital of the man who, more than any other, had contributed to expel him from his newly-acquired dominions; but suffered likewise the bitter pain of seeing even his paternal estates in the hands of his powerful ally, without any hopes of ever recovering them. The palace of the elector of Bavaria was remarkable for its elegance and taste, which Gustavus enthusiastically admired. "Who was the architect of this fine building?" enquired he of the bailiff. "The Elector himself," replied the man. "Could I catch him," retorted the king, "I would send him to Stockholm."—"But he will take good care to keep out of your way," rejoined the faithful servant. According to Kherenhiller, the king was in no ways displeased with the reply. He seemed particularly desirous of making a favourable impression upon the inhabitants; and to give them a high idea of the Swedish discipline, he reviewed his troops in a neighbouring field. Like the greatest military commander of our own times he well knew how to strike the imagination by such acts as were sure to make him popular. Upon this occasion, the citizens were surprised to see the monarch alight from his horse, walk up to a common soldier who handled his arms awkwardly, take the gun out of his hands, shoulder it himself, and show the man how he should fire. He was likewise affable with his troops, and entered into a friendly

conversation with them. These peculiarities are not uncommon with great men, and who thus succeed in winning the hearts of those they are destined to command. But here Gustavus had probably a higher object in view. He was now master of the greatest part of Bavaria, and such an increase of dominion seemed, in his eyes, highly favourable to his plan of founding for himself a large territorial establishment in Germany. The extensive and fertile lands of Bavaria, added to the rich provinces his arms had conquered along the Rhine, would have made him one of the most powerful princes in Christendom, whilst it would have secured him the Imperial crown. But, fortunately for the Church and for civilization, Providence ordained otherwise.

Gustavus was soon obliged to leave Munich. In his march towards Augsburg, the same obstinate resistance was offered by the peasantry, and the same scenes of bloodshed, massacre, and conflagration were renewed. There was no conquering the indomitable spirit of these brave men, who showed themselves the worthy forefathers of those peasants who, in 1790, sternly drove back the French invaders. The Suabians evinced the same dispositions towards the Emperor, their sovereign. No less attached to their faith and government than their neighbours, they rallied round every detachment of regulars to repel their common enemy, preferring death to apostacy or slavery. M. Gfrærer opposes their devotedness and intrepidity to the cowardice of the Lutheran population, which he brands with due justice. Of the conduct exhibited by the Protestant princes at this very period, we have a sufficient sample in a letter addressed to Gustavus by his bosom friend and chancellor Oxenstierna, who expresses himself in the following manner: "It would be a pity to entrust any post of importance to the princes, or any other high-born personages, because they are deaf both to orders and remonstrances; and even before the military court, above which they suppose themselves to be, they act shamefully and according to their own private advantage or pleasure." It was to their dissensions and jealousies that the Swedish king owed the loss of his conquests along the Rhine.

Maximilian of Bavaria, on the contrary, though now reduced to the possession of one single town, did not belie his former grandeur. His situation was certainly more embarrassing than that of the Emperor in 1630, when the

duke had sold at such hard conditions his help to the Austrian court. Heaven had now taught him a severe lesson, but which he turned to good account.

"There was no succour to be hoped for except from this self-same Austria. He sent messenger after messenger over the Bohemian mountains, to implore the protection of Ferdinand II., and even of that man to whom it must have been far more bitter to confess his utter helplessness, to Wallenstein, that victim of the Bavarian intrigues in the diet of Ratisbon. And yet under this appalling visitation of fate Maximilian preserved his presence of mind; he did not commit one single fault. Whilst the enemy was conquering his hereditary lands, whilst city after city was holding allegiance to the invader, he adhered to the firm resolution to hold out in Ratisbon, and not to expose his last troops for the defence of his electoral states, a thing desired by the Swedes, who would thus have inevitably and completely destroyed the remains of the Bavarian forces. Whether Gustavus Adolphus was guilty of an error, in conquering defenceless Bavaria, instead of crushing the newly rising ascendancy of Austria, we leave to competent men to decide. Doubtless had he broken into Bohemia, he would have incurred the danger of leaving to the duke of Bavaria all his conquests of the preceding winter, those rich lands of the Rhine, the Main, and the Danube, on which his heart was so strongly set. But on the other hand, he soon learned that all his labours of 1632 had been abortive. At the same time came the news that Prague and the whole of Bohemia had been wrenched from the Saxons: dark clouds were gathering on the mountains, threatening to descend from thence over the plains of Bavaria, to visit, perhaps, the king's own head, and bring along destruction within their womb."—p. 961.

To speak without any metaphor, the famous duke of Friedland had once more undertaken the direction of the war against the Swedes. It is not our purpose to follow the political and military measures by which that extraordinary man endeavoured to oppose the victorious advance of Gustavus Adolphus: they are well known facts; and we have already but too long trespassed upon the reader's attention. On a future occasion we intend to apply the rules of criticism to the calumniated chiefs of the Catholic armies and governments at this memorable period: with the help of modern documents and researches we hope to glean many an interesting fact, to shed considerable light upon some of the most interesting, though most obscure portions of modern history.

But before the two greatest generals of their time came to try each other's strength in a pitched battle, wherein

the king of Sweden lost his life, the latter seemed, as it were, to be more than ever intent upon letting the world know what were his real intentions. One can hardly imagine how after writers have allowed themselves to be deluded, with such glaring facts before their eyes. The reader may remember how frequently Gustavus Adolphus had given broad hints of his intended usurpation of the Imperial crown. A short time before the battle of Lützen, he completely cast away all sort of dissimulation, and boldly appealed to the Germans. The town of Nuremberg had proved one of his most faithful allies. This celebrated city being now threatened by Wallenstein's troops, to avoid the fate of Magdeburg, the inhabitants implored the help of the Swede, who was not at all behindhand in answering their plea. Nuremberg was consequently put in a most respectable state of defence; but as a compensation his agents were commissioned to declare that the king was resolved to *assume the rights of sovereignty which the emperor formerly enjoyed over the Baltic provinces, as well as over those which he had taken from the papists*. The negociators were likewise empowered to affirm, that before any standing peace could be concluded, *it must be grounded upon a firm alliance between the Evangelical countries and a proper head of the German empire*. The object of Gustavus was to decoy Nuremberg into a separate treaty with himself, and thus to present this example to the other free cities. In a set speech which he uttered himself on this occasion, he very plainly gave them to understand that it was all over with the old German constitution. That the Protestant states were to frame another, *and elect a proper head for the new confederacy*. This was clear enough; and the deputies of the city, situated as they were, replied, that the king of Sweden himself was the only person fit to be chosen! After such language as this, not the slightest doubt can remain, and well may M. Gfrærer say that the Swede's intentions were as clear as broad daylight, that to put any other construction upon them is truly laughable.

In the preceding pages we have endeavoured to show under its true light one of the most intricate periods of modern history. It is one instance among many others of the thick mists by which truth has been purposely surrounded. Well may we recall on this occasion the celebrated words of Joseph de Maistre, who affirms that for



the last three centuries the compilation of history has been but one vast conspiracy against truth. To dispel these obstructive clouds is now the duty of every Catholic writer, and must still be the task allotted to him for a long space of time. A day may come when he will undertake to rear a new fabric, and to draw from purer sources the stream of historical science: but, for the present, he must be contented with more humble labours. When the Reformation broke out in the sixteenth century, the first efforts of our forefathers were directed towards the repelling of the new doctrines, and to prevent, as much as possible, their baneful progress. Ere they founded new institutions, or devised new means to instil fresh vigour into the bosom of the Catholic Church, they cleared the ground of the spurious and parasitical vegetation which had grown up around them. Something of the same kind must be done by us in this field of science: however arduous, however unacceptable may be such an undertaking, we ought not to repine, for it is highly meritorious in the eyes of Providence. Indeed, we may find a motive of encouragement in the fact that Protestants are already at work to do at least half our labour. Works like that which we have been analyzing are of the highest value, a value enhanced by the very prejudices they profess to maintain. And how many publications of this kind are already known to the learned world! How many that are daily contributing to knock down, as it were, the innumerable offsprings of error and falsehood which were the growth of the last century! To confine ourselves to the one before us, how different does the celebrated king of Sweden appear to us at present from what he has hitherto been thought to be! How truly despicable do we now view those reformed princes, noblemen, and clergy, who could not even reform their very selves! If the mind turns with disgust from such scenes of ribaldry and baseness, still it learns a good lesson for the future:—it learns not to trust in those sycophants who court public favour, and show without a whitened sepulchre, in order to cover their own corruption and black designs. And now we may well ask if it was worth while to blacken the German soil with ruins, to soak it with human blood in order to satisfy the vulgar ambition of an usurper? If the reader has still any doubt upon the subject, let him meditate upon the following words of Schiller, a most reputable witness, we trust, on such an occasion.

"As the Reformation," says he, "set up citizen against citizen, subject against sovereign, and brought forth new connections between them, so did she force all Europe into a new system of mutual relations. And just in the same way was it that, through an extraordinary course of events, this religious schism was destined to give rise to a closer union between the different states. It must be allowed, however, that this reciprocal universal sympathy was ushered in at first by the most shocking, the most fatal incidents:—a Thirty Years' War of the most atrocious kind; a war which depopulated the land from the heart of Bohemia to the mouth of the Scheld, from the sources of the Po to the shores of the Baltic;—a war which destroyed the richest harvests, laid in ashes populous towns and villages, caused the death of thousands, extinguished for half a century the glimmering light of civilization in Germany, and brought back to the rudeness of savage life the new-born germs of morality."\*

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ART. V.—1. *A First Letter to the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, M. P., on the Present Persecution of a certain Portion of the English Church. With a Sermon, preached at St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, on Sunday Morning and Evening, Nov. 17, 1850.* By the Rev. WILLIAM J. E. BENNETT, M. A. Seventh Edition. 8vo. London: Cleaver, 1850.

2. *A Second Letter to the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, M. P.* By the Rev. W. J. E. BENNETT. 8vo. London: Cleaver, 1851.

3. *Origines Liturgicæ; or, Antiquities of the English Ritual, and a Description of Primitive Liturgies.* By the Rev. WILLIAM PALMER, M. A. 2 vols. 8vo. Fourth Edition. London: Rivingtons, 1845.

BEFORE these pages shall have left the printer's hands, the once-famous "Durham Letter" will most probably have been forgotten, except for the consequences to which it has led. A day of fame it certainly enjoyed. It was the main instrument of an excitement almost unexampled within our memory. It had the inglorious distinction of evoking a degree of bigotry, which even the least sanguine lovers of peace had felt assured they would never see again in England. But the excitement was transitory

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\* Geschichte des dreissig jährigen kriegs, s. 6, Cotta's 12.<sup>e</sup> Edit. 1838.

and unsubstantial. The bigotry, though loud-voiced, was superficial, and confined to a class. The missile has only hurt the hand which flung it. It has realized the well-known fairy tale, of the magic cudgel which was evoked by an enchanter but imperfectly acquainted with the words of the spell, and which only showered its blows upon the head of the luckless tyro himself. The "Durham Letter" has been the cause of the signal and inglorious humiliation of its author.

A good deal of argument has been expended in the attempt to decide what section of her Majesty's subjects was principally aimed at by the First Minister of the Crown, in the vehement and undignified denunciation from which we have borrowed the title of the present paper. Catholics and Tractarians alike felt themselves aggrieved. In the relations which the noble Lord had occupied with regard to both parties, there was much to give the attack, for whichever intended, all the semblance of treachery as well as ungenerousness. Perhaps, therefore, it was scarcely worth while to clear up the doubt. The odium might most prudently have been suffered to divide itself between both. But the noble Lord himself has thought otherwise. The private explanation which was reported to have been offered, early in the affair, to certain members of the Catholic body, has received authoritative confirmation in Lord John Russell's opening statement in the introduction of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill; and from this time forward the "unworthy sons of the Church of England" are alone officially privileged to consider their principles and practices as designated under the name of "mummeries of superstition," and to regard themselves as the parties whom Lord John Russell holds up to scorn and reprobation as "laboriously endeavouring to confine the intellect and enslave the soul."

It may appear at first sight that the declaration thus decisively and unhesitatingly tendered should shut out Catholics from all further concern in the discussion. But most inopportunistly for his Lordship's explanation, and most infelicitously for his peace with offended Catholic friends, it happens that the principles and observances to which the obnoxious epithets were applied, are precisely those which are most peculiar to the Catholic religion, and which, as public and authorized practices, form the chief, if not the sole, distinguishing characteristic of the Catholic

system. The Honour paid to Saints, the claim of Infallibility, the use of the Sign of the Cross, the unknown language of the Liturgy, Auricular Confession, Penance, and Absolution, although they may be "pointed out by clergymen of the Church of England as worthy of adoption," form, nevertheless, the very essence of Catholic worship and Catholic practice wherever the name of Catholicity is known; and it is impossible to stigmatize those time-honoured observances with the opprobrious epithets which Lord John Russell did not hesitate to employ, without branding the religion into which, as a system, they enter so prominently and so peculiarly, as a religion whose ceremonies are a despicable mummery, and whose doctrines are an enslaving superstition.

For our own part, indeed, we are well content to bear with this imputation, in consideration of the unforeseen service which it has rendered to our cause. We have always held, that, in the present condition of England, the best hope of Catholicity lies in notoriety, even though it may at first sight appear a notoriety of obloquy and shame. There is a spirit of fair play in the very atmosphere of England, which seldom fails to ensure, from some at least, an honest response to the appeal of the injured party. The earnest cry, "Strike me, but hear me!" is seldom entirely unsuccessful with an English audience; and we have served too long an apprenticeship to obloquy and misconception not to accept with cheerfulness a temporary revival of it, and even with increased virulence, in consideration of the enquiry into the justice of our claims which it cannot fail to provoke. We submit without a murmur, therefore, to the outcry against our ceremonies as "mummeries of superstition;" well assured that the very cry will awaken some from the sleep of indifference, perhaps of absolute ignorance, regarding them, in which they have hitherto lain. Even while we write, we have before us the most consoling evidence that such is, and has been, its effect in the present instance, in a most marked and signal degree.

One of the best consolations which a Catholic could take to his heart under such imputations against his doctrines and practices, is the knowledge that they apply, even in their most offensive form, to the practices, not only of his own immediate forefathers in the faith, but of the whole body of Christian worshippers from the very earliest times.

The points selected for special animadversion in the Durham Manifesto, are precisely those regarding which the popular convictions of Catholics are strongest and most unhesitating. From the elementary catechisms up to the most elaborate of our books of controversy, the whole body of Catholic literature teems with evidence of the antiquity of "the Honour of the Saints," the "claim of Infallibility," "Confession," "Penance," and the other practices which are now held up to the contempt of modern England. Catholics may well afford to bear the taunt of superstition and mummery, when they are conscious that they bear it in the company of Justin, Tertullian, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine; and the charge of "confining the intellect," and "enslaving the soul," falls lightly upon them, when they feel that it is shared with those mighty men of old, by whom the world was redeemed from the errors of a corrupt though self-reliant philosophy, into the humble but saving light of Christian truth.

Indeed, we know nothing so cheering to the heart of a Catholic, or so strengthening to his faith, as, with an earnest and docile mind, to trace the analogies of ancient and modern devotional principles and practice, and to observe the manifold and minute coincidences which they present;—sometimes in the literal identity of rite; sometimes in the community of spirit which the rites, though different in form, bespeak; sometimes in the evidence of common origin which they betray; and more frequently in the palpable development of the ancient germ to which the modern usage can always be traced. There is something indescribably consoling in the discovery—to which, as we can say from our own experience, such an enquiry cannot fail to lead—that, not alone in the general character of the popular devotion of the early centuries, the habitual tone of the christian mind of those times, and the great fundamental principles of thought and action on which their whole devotional system is based, but even in the most minute and seemingly unimportant particulars of their practice, it exhibits a truly wonderful identity even in detail, and a most complete and unmistakeable harmony of spirit and of meaning, with that modern Catholic system which is so opposed to all the notions and ideas of the Durham school; and further, that this identity is nowhere more observable, than in precisely those points of modern Catholic usage which are regarded as peculiarly "popish," and to which,

in the views of this school, the epithet of "superstitious" especially and primarily applies.

To illustrate these assertions in reference to most of the topics of Lord John Russell's Letter, as, for example, Infallibility, the Honour of Saints, Confession, &c., would but carry us over the beaten track of Catholic controversy, with which every well-informed reader, whether Catholic or Protestant, is sufficiently familiar. But there is one of them—the use of the Sign of the Cross—which, popular though it be among the former, and peculiarly obnoxious to the latter, has nevertheless, by some strange accident, hardly ever, at least in this country, formed the subject of a regular and formal discussion. At all events it has never, as far as we are aware, received the full share of consideration to which its own intrinsic interest, as well as the unanimous consent of all christian communities, except those of purely Protestant origin, entitles it; and we gladly avail ourselves of the occasion presented by the late irreverent and unseemly denunciation of this beautiful Christian usage, in order to place before our readers a few of the numberless evidences of its antiquity, which all the early Christian monuments present. Few Protestants, we are assured, are aware of their copiousness and variety. Even among well-informed Catholics themselves, we do not hesitate to say, that very erroneous, or at least, imperfect, notions are entertained; and we may confess for our own part, that the minuteness and extent of the coincidences between the ancient and the modern Church in the use of this beautiful symbol, which our researches have revealed, have often filled us with a delighted surprise. Certainly if there be a difference between them, either as to the frequency of the use of the symbol, or the purposes to which it is applied, the charge of excess will be found to fall more heavily upon the ancients than upon the moderns; and, beyond all possibility of doubt, the epithet of "superstitious" would, in the views of the Durham school, have described the purposes, the occasions, the manner, and the other circumstances, of the ancient practice, with far more seeming justice and propriety than it does either the modified Tractarian usage of St. Margaret's, St. Andrew's, or St. Barnabas's, or even the most extravagant excess of the most zealous Romanist in the Church.

We shall not offer any apology, therefore, for the description of evidence which it will be our duty to lay



before the reader. At best, from the very nature of the case, it could only consist of a bare series of authorities, with hardly anything of interest to connect them together. But the narrow limits within which we are confined, will tend to render it still more dry and uninteresting. When it is recollected that the learned Jesuit, Father Gretser, has filled no less than three folio volumes with the subject *De Cruce*, it will be easily understood, that no ordinary amount of condensation must be employed, in order to adapt even a selection from the overflowing materials, to the brief popular form of an essay in our pages. We must, therefore, content ourselves with a few of the most prominent topics; intended rather to show the copiousness and variety of the sources of evidence, than to exhaust any single branch of the subject; rather to exhibit the general character of the mind of the ancient Church, than to accumulate proofs of any particular facts regarding it; and to show, that on this and all similar subjects, its habitual tone was not alone utterly opposed to the modern ideas of the un-catholic schools, but could never have subsisted in the state of thought in which they have their origin.

It can hardly be necessary, even for Protestant readers, to state, that in all the public services of the modern Catholic Church, as well as the private ministrations of the clergy, the Sign of the Cross enters as a frequent and prominent ceremonial. Of all private devotions among Catholics it is a constant accompaniment. At rising in the morning, before and after all prayers, at grace before and after meals, at entering a church, on lying down to sleep, every instructed and observant Catholic will sign himself with the cross. Continental Catholics, and the more exact among our own people, will employ the symbol more frequently. On all occasions of danger or alarm, as a preventive of evil thoughts or imaginations, on the occurrence of unforeseen accidents, at the commencement of important undertakings, and, indeed, in nearly all remarkable emergencies, as will appear more particularly in the sequel, the use of the sign of our redemption is with Catholics almost habitual and instinctive. Now it is precisely this use of the cross which is most obnoxious to Protestant minds, and which is principally denounced as the "mummery" and "superstition," which is held up to the scorn of every enlightened mind. And we shall see before we close, that it is precisely in

this obnoxious, and, according to Protestant ideas, superstitious use, that the coincidences of ancient and modern practice are most complete, most frequent, and most striking.

In truth, if there be any one practice which meets the student of antiquity more frequently than another, and which, as it were, forces itself upon his notice in every detail of early christian life, public and private, religious, social, and even political, it is this simple but touching usage. The evidence embarrasses by its very abundance. It seems as though the christian mind of those days was still so freshly and thoroughly penetrated with the recent memory of the mercy of the cross, that it could never suffer it to depart from its view; as though the generous declaration of St. Paul still found a living echo in every christian heart, and as if universal Christendom had, like him, renounced every other source of "glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." The whole mind of the Church was penetrated, and as if possessed with it. Of every conceivable action of life it was the accompaniment and the sanctifier. Into every thought and every view it was sure to enter. It was associated with almost every object. It was suggested by every conceivable image, even in external nature. If St. Ephrem, the Syrian, beheld a bird with its wings expanded in flight, he but saw therein a type of the sign with which all his hopes were identified. A ship, with mast erect and outspread yards, was a still more familiar emblem. The intersecting beams of a roof, the spreading branches of a tree, the petals of a flower, the letters of a manuscript, and a thousand other types, many of them so remote and fanciful as to show the depth of the feeling which could discover the resemblance, were all suggestive of the same ever-recurring idea. In a word, the whole spirit of the time would have revolted at the bare idea of indifference, not to speak of absolute disregard, towards the holy symbol. Can any one conceive, even as barely possible in such circumstances, a denunciation of it conceived in the tone of the Durham letter? How it would have jarred upon every feeling, and clashed with every sentiment of the age! How well, on the other hand, would those feelings have accorded with the tone of Mr. Bennett's defence of the christian usage! In their eyes, as in his, and in those of every lover of the holy emblem, "it seems to come so naturally and so gracefully from

the baptismal font, it seems so beautiful and simple a type of our love of our blessed Saviour, it seems so hallowing and purifying an invocation of His presence and of the atonement by which we are saved, that in the first instance, viewed abstractedly, and without prejudice, where the true christian could be found to object to it, it is beyond one's power to imagine." Who can doubt with what horror,—for it is impossible to conceive any other feeling,—an age habituated to such thoughts, such language, and such observances, would have listened to a voice raised in "contempt," or "scorn," against this holy sign?

The subject, however, will require a more detailed examination. If one were to judge from the practice of modern Protestants, there is no conceivable use of the sign of the cross which could hope to meet their toleration, or, at least, their approval; and, in arguing against the views popularly entertained by them, it would be quite sufficient to establish, in a general way, the habitual use of it in the early church. It would seem, however, from the marked introduction of the epithet "superstitious" in the Premier's letter, and from the modified expression of opinion in many other quarters which it has elicited, that it is sought to establish a distinction between the mere *use* of the sign and its *superstitious* use; and that the whole weight of the denunciation is directed, not against the sign itself, but against certain superstitious or unsanctioned usages or applications of it, by which its simplicity is alleged to have been corrupted. In order, therefore, to meet any possible distinction of this kind, it will be necessary to compare the ancient and the modern use of the sign, not alone in itself, but in all its circumstances, in the purposes to which it has been applied, and in its whole bearing upon the tone and spirit of the religious life.

The enquiry, therefore, will naturally divide itself into three parts;—first, the extent to which the use of the sign of the cross prevailed in the early church; secondly, the analogies, if any, which can be traced between its ancient and its modern use; thirdly, the effects ascribed thereto by the early Christians. In each of these points of the enquiry, we earnestly beg the attention of those who may be disposed to look upon the modern Catholic practice, either as deserving of censure in itself, or as carried to an undue and superstitious excess.

#### I. UNIVERSALITY OF THE USE OF THE SIGN OF THE CROSS

IN THE EARLY CHURCH.—It is hardly necessary to delay upon its use in the public services of the Church. Mr. Palmer, who is the last to admit in the early Church anything for which his own church preserves no counterpart, confesses that it was used “in some part of almost every Christian office.”\* And the admission is extorted by the unanimous voice of antiquity. St. Cyprian calls it “the sign of the sacrament,”† so universal and indispensable was its use; and declares that “whoever may be the ministers of the sacraments; whatever may be the hands which either immerge the candidates for baptism, or anoint them; whatever be the breast whence issue the sacred words; it is the authority of His operation that imparts *the effect to all the sacraments in the sign of the cross.*”‡ St. Augustine goes still more into the detail of the sacraments, and enumerates them almost all. “What,” he asks, “is the sign of the cross, but the Cross of Christ itself? Which, unless it be applied either to the foreheads of the believers, or to the water wherein they are regenerated, or to the oil wherewith they are anointed, or to the sacrifice wherewith they are nourished, none of these is duly celebrated.”§ And St. Chrysostom completes the circle of evidence by declaring in general of all ministrations, whether sacramental or otherwise, that “all things which conduce to our salvation are consummated by the cross.”|| How would one of these good fathers have stared, had he found, some morning, proclaimed by the public crier at his church porch, or posted up in the forum of his episcopal city, a petulant manifesto from the prefect or proconsul, reprobating as superstitious even the most simple and modified use of the symbol in their public ministrations! The conception is too absurd to be entertained, even for the purpose of ridicule.

In truth, so deeply was this reverence for the cross impressed upon the church of the early centuries, so thoroughly did she identify it with the very idea of the Christian worship, that the Fathers regard its use as one of the “better things to come,” prefigured under the types of the

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\* *Origines Liturgicæ*, II., 191. † De Pass. Christi. Opp. 429.

‡ De Bapt. Christi. Opp. p. 410. [Ed. Pan.]

§ 11 Tract. in Joann. III. 1950. [Ed. Mign.]

|| 15 Hom. in S. Matt. VII. 301.

Old Testament. Thus St. Augustine, Lactantius, and others,\* recognize as its type the sprinkling of the door-posts with the blood of the paschal lamb; the former declaring that the Christian too "signs himself upon his forehead, as on a door-post, with the sign of Christ's passion and cross;"† and the latter‡ pursuing the explanation of the type with that beautiful minuteness of illustration for which he is so remarkable, and declaring that the pure and innocent Lamb is "the salvation of all who shall subscribe upon their foreheads the sign of the blood:—that is, the sign of the cross upon which the blood was shed."

Others again regard the sign of the cross as prefigured by the mysterious TAU, ordered, in the ninth chapter of Ezechiel, to be inscribed "upon the foreheads of the men that sigh and mourn for the abominations committed in the midst thereof." So Cyprian,§ Tertullian, Origen, and especially St. Jerome, who comments upon the resemblance which this letter bears "to the cross which is painted upon the forehead of the Christian, and is impressed by the frequent inscription of his hand." Others, again, discover a type of the cross in the "scarlet cord" let down by Rahab from her window in Jericho;|| others in the "plate of purest gold" which is ordered (in Exodus xxviii. 36.) to be hung upon the forehead of the high-priest; and others even in the signet-ring of Pharaoh given to Joseph, as a symbol of his authority.

It would be endless to enumerate the passages of the Old Testament which the fathers interpret as bearing prophetically upon the same holy emblem. In many of them the allusion is so distinct as to be appreciated without difficulty. Thus St. Gregory of Nyssa and St. Jerome understand of the sign of the cross, the "*Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui*" of the Psalmist. St. Ambrose applies in the same sense, in a very beautiful and striking passage, the "*Pone me ut signaculum super cor tuum*" of the Canticle. Arnobius, Jerome, Gregory of Nyssa, and others, regard the cross as the *signum in bono* of the eighty-fifth psalm, and the *metuentibus te insigne* of the

\* For example, St. Cyprian, Ep. ad Demetrianum, Opp. 258. [Ed. Pom.]

† De catechiz. Rudibus, cap. 20. and Cont. Fausti. VIII. 270.

‡ Institut. Lib. iv. cap. 26.

§ Opp. p. 326.

|| S. Aug. Opp. VIII. 271.

fifty-ninth. Other allusions may seem more imaginative, but they come to us with equally venerable authority. St. Cyril of Jerusalem finds an image of the cross in the words *Impinguasti in oleo caput meum*. St. Ambrose discovers an exhortation to its use in the *Ostende mihi faciem tuam* of the Canticle. Indeed the very remoteness of these allusions, and the seemingly slender foundation on which they rest, may serve to show how completely the emblem had filled their minds, and how easily they identified it with the very essence of the christian worship. We may understand, therefore, how it was that they regarded it as one of those apostolic practices, the origin of which, even without any express warranty of scripture, they believed it impossible to call into question. It is no mean argument of this origin, that the only voice raised in antagonism, of which early history presents any record, is that of Faustus the Manichean.\* The ground of his objection is precisely that on which a modern Protestant would rely; "that he finds nothing in the scriptures which refer to the foretelling of Christ and of the sign of Christ." And it is equally consolatory to find that the ground of reply assumed by Augustine equally bears out the parallel between the old and the modern controversy. Anticipating literally the defence of a modern Catholic, he replies: "What wonder if he has not eyes to see and a heart to understand, who, standing before the closed door of the divine secret, does not knock with pious faith, but insults with impious arrogance?" And thus in another passage,† he in the same breath maintains the apostolic origin of the practice, and yet declares that there is no warrant of scripture for signing the faithful with the saving sign of the cross: while St. Basil takes it as "a most common, well-known, and familiar" example of practices "derived partly from written teaching, partly from Apostolic tradition, both of which bear the same force for piety, and which no one possessing even a moderate knowledge of ecclesiastical laws will venture to gainsay."†

With the knowledge that such were the impressions of the early Christians as to the apostolic origin of the use of the cross, and even as to its having been foretold in the

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\* S. August. contra Faustum, xii. 30. VIII. 270.

† Cited by Gretser, I. 648.

‡ De Spiritu Sancto, cap. xxvii.



prophecies of the Old Law, we may be prepared for abundant evidence of its use among them in their private and personal devotions. The familiar passage of Tertullian places its universality beyond all possibility of doubt. There is no conceivable contingency of life in which he does not describe it, not merely as applicable, but even as actually employed. "In all their travels and movements, in all their comings in and goings out, in putting on their shoes, in the bath, at the table, in lighting their candles, in lying down, in sitting down, whatever occupation employed them, they were wont to mark [*terimus*] their foreheads with the sign of the cross."\* Lord John Russell objects to the "superstitious" use of the sign of the cross. It would be difficult to say that the manifold purposes enumerated here by Tertullian could all pass without censure before such a tribunal as his. We fear there is hardly one of them which he would not brand as superstitious.

Nor were the uses here described confined to any particular class. It might at first sight appear possible that this was but the practice of the weak and uneducated Christians of Tertullian's days. But we have the clearest evidence of its having been as universal as the profession of Christianity. St. John Chrysostom declares that "the cross is found everywhere; among princes and subjects; among men and women; among married and unmarried; among slaves and free-born; and all alike sign themselves therewith."† St. Cyril of Jerusalem, addressing all without distinction, exhorts them to "make this sign in eating and in drinking, in sitting and in standing still, in speaking, in walking, in fine, in every work without exception;"‡ and as if this detail were not sufficient, he exhorts his hearers in another place to "imprint the cross boldly upon their brows, and in everything; over the bread they eat and the cups they drink; in their comings in and goings out; before they lie down and when they awake; when they are on their journey, and when they are at rest."§ And the beautiful reflection which accompanies the precept may show how strongly

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\* Tertull. *De cor. mil.* III. Oxford Trans. p. 165.

† Chrysostom. *Oratio, Quod Christus sit Deus.* I. p. 571.

‡ Catech. iv. 14, Oxford Transl. p. 40.

§ Ibid. xiii. 36, p. 160.

St. Cyril felt the universality of God's design in the institution. It has been made easy and acceptable, he says, that all might avail themselves of "so great a preservative." It has been made "without price, for the sake of the poor," and "without toil, for the sake of the infirm." Indeed the language used by many of the Fathers is so strong, that it might almost appear exaggerated at the present day. St. John Chrysostom's Homilies on St. Matthew, his Homilies on the Epistle to Timothy, or his Discourse on the Divinity of Christ, would almost appear too fervid for a modern congregation. We have noted above fifty passages of this eloquent father which we would gladly transcribe as an evidence of his feelings on the subject of the cross; but we must be content with the following, which is from the Discourse referred to above.

"The cross shines resplendent at the Sacred Table, in the ordinations of the Priests, and in the mystic Supper of the Lord's Body. You behold it blazoned everywhere;—in private houses, and in the public forum; in the deserts, and in the streets; on mountains, in meadows, and on hills; on the sea, in ships, in islands; on couches, on garments, and on armour; in the bed-chambers, and the banqueting-room; on vessels of gold and silver, on jewels, and in pictures; on the bodies of distempered animals, and on the bodies of persons possessed by the devil; in war, and in peace; by day, and by night; in the festival of the dancers, and amid the mortifications of the penitent;—with so much earnestness do all without exception cultivate this wondrous gift and its ineffable grace. No one is ashamed or put to the blush by the thought that it is the symbol of an accursed death; but we all feel ourselves more adorned thereby, than by crowns, diadems, and collars loaded with pearls; it shines everywhere; on the walls of our houses, on the ceilings of our apartments, in our books; in cities, and in villages; in deserts, and in cultivated fields." \*

We really cannot imagine what it would be possible to add to this in the way of detail. It would seem to embrace every conceivable contingency. And yet a few pages before, he had said, in scarcely different words, that we "behold the cross upon the purple and on the diadem; in

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\* Orat. Quod Christus sit Deus. Opp. I. 571.

our prayers, in the midst of armies, at the sacred table ; in a word, its glory shines throughout the world more brightly than the sun."\*

Such is the witness of the Eastern Church. St. Jerome who, from his long residence in both Churches, may be presumed to speak with the united voice of the East and the West, repeats the same exhortation to Eustochium. "*In every act of thine,*" he writes to her, "*in every movement, let thy hand describe the Cross.*"† St. Ambrose is equally comprehensive. He declares that we "*must perform every work of the day* in the sign of the Redeemer ;" and while he reminds them of the superstitious anxiety with which, in the days of their paganism, they were wont to seek for signs and favourable omens, declares, that now there is but "*one sign of Christ wherein there is safe prosperity for all things.*"‡ And St. Augustine is hardly behind St. John Chrysostom himself in the frequency and fervour of his allusions. We might fill whole pages with passages from his sermons, his treatises, and his commentaries, illustrating almost every single modern peculiarity of practice regarding it.

We must take care, however, not to exhaust our space in multiplying evidence of a usage which it is impossible for any student of antiquity to deny. There is one passage of St. John Chrysostom which, if all the rest were unknown, would place the universality and frequency of the practice beyond all reasonable doubt. So frequent, and indeed habitual was it in his day, that the act had become, with many, a purely mechanical one. "*Many,*" he says, "*are so habituated to the use of this sign, that they no longer require to be admonished of the occasion, but their hand itself, even while the mind is otherwise engaged, is drawn, of its own accord, to form the sign, as though it were moved by a living teacher.*"§ And in another sermon|| he enters more into the particulars, and describes the Christian as mechanically and involuntarily signing himself "*on entering a door, at the lighting of the lamps,*" and on the other similar occasions in which its use was prescribed. Surely, in such times as these, even to have mooted a doubt as to the lawfulness of the practice, would have been to incur

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\* Ibid. 569. † St. Jerome ad Eustoch., Ep. 22.

‡ S. Ambros. Sermo. 43. § XI. 698. || Ibid, 27.

the suspicion of hostility to the very first principles of christianity itself.

But without dwelling further upon these general evidences, which will receive abundant additional illustration in the second part of our essay, we shall proceed to enumerate a few of the most remarkable analogies of the ancient and modern uses of the sign of the cross.

II. ANALOGIES OF THE ANCIENT AND MODERN USE OF THE SIGN OF THE CROSS.—Many of these will be anticipated from what we have already said, and, indeed, are included in the general testimonies of Tertullian, Cyril, Ambrose, and Chrysostom; but it may be well to enumerate them in regular order, even at the risk of repetition.

(1.) *At rising and lying down to sleep.* Tertullian, in the passage already cited, bears sufficient evidence to the existence, in his day, of this use of the cross, still familiar to every Catholic from childhood upwards. But it may be useful to add, as an illustration of the importance attached to its observance, that in his book, *Ad Uxorem*, he employs as an argument against a christian woman's marrying an unbeliever, that such a marriage would interfere with the practice. "Shalt thou be able," he asks, "to escape detection, when thou signest thy body and thy bed?"\* And, in like manner, he places among the blessings of a christian marriage, and the liberty of worship which it brings, that there is "no furtive signing, no hurried benediction."†

The testimony of St. Cyril equally bears out the analogy. It was the practice of Christians in his day to use the holy sign "when they lay down,‡ and when they awoke;" and, what is more important, by them, as by ourselves, it was regarded as "a preservative" against danger and evil influences.§

We are tempted to add a very pleasing confirmation of this belief, as well as a strong evidence of the practice which is contained in one of the Hymns of the christian poet, Prudentius, who wrote in the fourth century, and who is known to most of our readers by the beautiful hymn to the holy Innocents, *Salvete Flores Martyrum*, which

\* *Ad Uxorem*, Lib. II. c. v. Oxf. Tr. 427.

† *Ibid.* 431.

‡ *Cat.* xiii. 36. p. 161.

§ *Ibid.* p. 161-2.

is preserved in their office, as it stands in the Roman Breviary.

"Fac, cum, vocante somno,  
Castum petis cubile,  
Frontem locumque cordis  
Crucis figura signet.  
Crux pellit omne crimen,  
Crucem fugiunt tenebræ;  
Tali dicata signo  
Mens fluctuare nescit.  
Discede, Christus hic est!  
Hic Christus est, liquesce!  
Signum quod ipse nosti,  
Damnât tuam catervam."

(2.) *At meals.* It would be tiresome to repeat the evidence of Tertullian, SS. Cyril, Chrysostom, Jerome. They all place this among the principal uses of the cross in their day. St. Athanasius, with more "superstitious" minuteness than any of them, directs that the sign be made three several times. And, although we have no means of ascertaining how far this peculiarity came into use, we have abundant examples of the fidelity with which the practice itself was observed. Even soldiers, though proverbially least exact in the observance of the duties of religion, did not fail to maintain this usage. Theodoret in his history \* attributes to its use, at a feast in which a number of soldiers, who had weakly offered incense while receiving a donation presented by Julian the Apostate to his army were assembled, the enlightenment and conversion of those who had fallen into this unlawful compliance. We select out of a vast variety of examples, one single anecdote, told by St. Gregory of Tours, which is in itself sufficiently amusing, and which may serve to show that the practice was not confined to Catholics, but prevailed among the heretics of the fourth and fifth centuries. We shall relate it in the simple language of St. Gregory himself, as a sample of the "superstition" of the fifth century.

"There was a certain Catholic lady," he says, "who was married to a heretic. One day, a very zealous priest of our religion, having come to visit her, she went to her husband, and begged that the arrival of this priest, who had honoured her by a visit, should

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\* III. 16. p. 365.

be celebrated as a joyful event, and that a suitable banquet should be provided for his entertainment. The husband consented to the proposal, and soon afterwards another priest, who, however, was a heretic, arrived. 'We shall have a double joy to-day,' said her husband, 'for there is a priest of each of our creeds in our house.' When they sat down to dinner, the husband seated his own priest upon his right hand, and on his left the Catholic priest, placing at his side a chair for his wife. Before dinner was served, the husband said to his own priest, 'If you will follow my directions, we shall have a laugh at this priest of the Romans. The moment the dish is placed upon the table, be sure *to be before him in signing it with the sign of the cross*: if you do so, he will not venture to touch it, and, to his great mortification, we shall eat it ourselves, and have the joke into the bargain.' 'Very well,' said the priest, 'I will do as you desire.' Accordingly, when the first dish of vegetables was served, the heretic made the sign of the cross and laid hold of it. The lady begged them to desist; and expressing her regret for this unworthy treatment of her priest, ordered another dish to be served, of which he partook. Nevertheless, on the appearance of the second and third removes, the heretical priest did the same; and when the fourth dish was brought in, without waiting even till it was placed on the table, he hastily raised his hand, made the sign of the cross, and, the moment it was set down, plunged his spoon into it, and, without adverting to its being scalding hot, swallowed a huge mouthful. In a moment he was seized with a sudden burning pain in the breast, and soon afterwards died in great agony. The Catholic priest, regarding it as a judgment of God, turned to the husband, and said to him: 'This man's memory hath perished with a sound, but the Lord abideth for ever.' And the man fell down in terror at the priest's feet, and was converted to the Catholic faith with his entire family."\*

The story needs no commentary. It would be amusing for its simplicity, were it not for the tragical end of the unhappy priest. But it establishes the usage beyond all possibility of doubt, and it shows very significantly the religious importance which the popular voice attached to its observance.

(3.) *In any undertaking of moment.* The passages cited already in the first part of the essay will sufficiently attest this. We shall but add a few examples. Only conceive, for instance, how the writer of the "Durham Manifesto" would have been astonished if, when the Queen called her parliament together to consider the momentous topics

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\* Greg. Tur. Mirac. ii. 80.



with which that letter purposed to deal, she had commenced the Royal Address by solemnly signing herself with the cross! And yet, "superstitious mummery" though it may be in the eyes of the noble Lord, such would have been the course of one of the early Christian Emperors in similar circumstances. So we are told, in express terms, of Justin II., by his panegyrist, Corippus.\*

Ipse coronatus solium conscendit avitum,  
Atque crucis faciens signum venerabile sedit,  
Erectaque manui cuncto præsente senatu  
Ore pio hæc orans ait.

Indeed we find that even royalty itself conformed to *all* the pious usages already alluded to. In all his "*comings in and goings out*," Justin employed the sacred emblem as faithfully as his meanest subject.

Egreditur luce nova frontemque serenam  
Armavit sancti faciens signacula ligni.

The very generals and officers of the army, a class even less accessible, ordinarily speaking, to religious influences, were equally scrupulous in the observance. How oddly the following statement would read of a modern commander! Yet it was but a matter of every day occurrence in the history of those times, and in the idea of Theodosius formed but an ordinary act of christian duty. "Knowing," says Orosius,† "that under the sign of the cross, he should not only enjoy protection, but even victory, he armed himself with that sign, gave the signal for battle, and plunged into the fight, secure of victory, even though there were no one to follow him." Nor was this peculiar to religious men such as Theodosius. We read the same of his greatest and most distinguished general, Stilico, by no means remarkable for extraordinary piety.

Hujus adoratus altaribus, et cruce fronti  
Inscripta, cecinere tubæ.‡

In a soldier of the deep religious temperament which distinguished St. Martin of Tours, it may surprise us less; but even with all our notions regarding him, it is difficult

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\* De Laudib. Justinii, Lib. II., Gretser p. 685.

† Lib. vii. 35.

‡ Prudentius cont. Symmachum.

not to be struck by the noble sentiments put into his mouth in St. Paulinus's lines.

Primus ego abjectis præcedens agnima telis,  
Non arma arripiens hominis sed signa salutis,  
Tigmine nec fidens clypei sed nomine Christi,  
Atque crucem fronti auxilium pro casside ponens,  
Intrepido cunctis occurram corde periclis.

The practice was not confined to individuals. We find the whole army of Andronicus the Younger,\* "arming themselves with the cross" [σταυρίζετε καθοπλίζαντες ἑαυτοὺς] before they engaged the barbarians; and the Byzantine Historians, the great repository of the Catholic usages of the later centuries, are full of similar examples.

As a weapon of polemical warfare, the cross was equally familiar. When Porphyrius of Gaza was about to enter upon a controversy with a Manichean, he signed his tongue with this holy symbol.† And in this he was but complying with the every day use of the Christians of those times. "When thou art going to dispute with unbelievers," says St. Cyril, "first make the sign of the cross, and the gainsayer will be dumb."‡ St. Epiphanius§ repeats the same counsel, and in terms which enable us to understand the universality of the practice.

(4.) *Under any sudden terror.* "If they be smitten with fear from any cause," says St. Augustine, "they immediately sign themselves."|| St. Gregory of Tours in his life of St. Martin,¶ testifies to the same usage, and tells of a case in which even Theodoric the Goth availed himself of its protection.\*\* The Byzantine historians supply many illustrations of it. When Isaac Angelus heard the news of the invasion of Alexius, Nicetas Choniates tells that his first impulse was, to "sign himself with the character of the cross," [τὴ σταυρὸν σημειῶν ἑαυτὸν ἐν χάραξιν]. Theophylact relates the same of the emperor Maurice, when he was unexpectedly attacked by a wild boar;†† and the later histories are still more fertile of examples.

(5.) *Against evil emotions of the mind.*—A still more

\* Joannes Cantacuzenus. Hist. Lib. II.

† Gretser, I. 685.

‡ Cat. xiii., 21, 154. § Her. 26.

|| Opp. IV. 583.

¶ II. c. 45.

\*\* Gretser, T. 692.

†† Ibid. 693.

interesting coincidence of ancient and modern usage is discoverable in the sermons, homilies, and other ascetic remains of the fourth and fifth centuries. One of the most familiar suggestions of modern spiritual directors, as a safeguard against evil thoughts, or a shield against sinful impulses, is to make the sign of the cross upon the heart. It is consoling to know that the same suggestion was equally familiar in the "Church of the fathers." If a penitent of the great St. Chrysostom had sought at his feet, a remedy against temptations to anger, he would have told him, "If thou feel thy heart inflamed by anger, sign it instantly with the sign of the cross, and the angry impulse shall forthwith be scattered like dust."\* Against every other passion [καὶ τὰ πάντα λοιπὰ πάθη.] he would have prescribed the same.† St. Ambrose, if we may judge from his *exhortation to virgins*, would have given the same counsel against temptations of concupiscence.‡ "Let not concupiscence," he said, "have dominion over this dead body of thine; take in thy hands the cross of the Lord Jesus." St. Augustine did not seem to know any other remedy. "If sudden temptation gnaw thee," he writes, "let the bite be healed by the medicament of the cross." Nor could he devise any other resource, no matter what might be the nature of the spiritual impediment. "If the Amalechite adversary," says he, "shall seek to close up thy path, and to obstruct thy journey, he must be overcome by the reverent extension of the arms of the same cross."§ In the same holy simplicity, St. Gregory of Tours advises that "if we feel ourselves led away captive by the law of sin, we fortify our brow with the glorious sign of the cross, wherewith we shall repel all the weapons of the insidious enemy."|| And he confirms his advice by these lines from the Hymn of Prudentius,

"Crux pellit omne crimen,  
Fugiant crucem tenebræ;  
Tali dicata signo  
Mens fluctuare nescit"—

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\* 87 Hom. in Matt. vii. 820.

† Ibid. vii. 551.

‡ Exhort. ad Virgines, ii. 290.

§ Opp. viii. 270.

|| Lib. 1. Mirac. cap. 106.

Of this sentiment, which is quite familiar in the writings of this poet, F. Gretser has preserved several other interesting examples. But we prefer to cite a passage from St. Paulinus's charming hymn on St. Felix, in which the same idea is more than once introduced.

"Nos crucis invictæ signum et confessio munit,  
Armatus Deo mentem, non quærimus arma  
Corporis."

To the same conviction of the guarding and sanctifying power of this sign, we may trace many other similar details of its use, in which the ancient Christians will appear to have been even more "superstitious" than the most thorough-going modern Romanist. How strange it would seem in these days of enlightenment, to employ the sign of the cross upon one's ears, as a protection against the influence of evil counsel! Yet this was the rule prescribed by the great St. Ephraim, who "sealed up his ears with the precious seal of the cross, that the poison of wicked words might not have power to enter."\* Another no less distinguished father, St. John Chrysostom, prescribes the same antidote against angry and contumelious words.† Another, St. Augustine, commenting on the 93rd Psalm, directs the same preservative against the horror of blasphemy, or the suggestions of unbelief. In a word, there is hardly a detail of the devotional life of the early Christians, in which this feeling does not betray itself: a feeling of which our own pious practices still preserve numberless traces, and which the Church has solemnly registered and confirmed in the rite of administering the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, in which each of the organs of sense is signed with the cross, as an emblem of the remedy, or the expiation, of the sins committed through the instrumentality of that sense.

(6) *In sickness.* A still more touching illustration of the profound conviction which was entertained of the saving power of the cross, is the frequent and confident use of it in sickness, which the early records exhibit. The conduct of Gregory of Nyssa, in assisting at the death-bed of his sister, St. Macrina, would have been the extreme of superstition in the eyes of the Durham school. He signed the holy sign not alone upon her eyes, but "upon her lips,

\* De Virtute. cap. vii.

† 87 Hom. in S. Matt. vii. 820.

and even upon her heart;" and he does not hesitate to assign as his reason, that "the eternal God has given the sign of the holy cross as a weapon against the enemy, and a safeguard of our lives."\* Evodius, in a letter to St. Augustine, to which Augustine approvingly replies, speaks in high commendation of a certain youth, who, at the approach of death, began to arm himself with this saving sign.† St. Jerome relates with equal evidence of approbation, that the holy virgin St. Eustochium "impressed the holy sign upon the mouth and on the stomach of her dying mother, St. Paula;" and what is still more superstitious, he subjoins that "she trusted by the impression of the cross to mitigate her mother's sufferings."‡ He adds in another place, of the same Paula, that "she raised up her hand to her mouth, and printed the sign of the cross upon her lips."

(7) *In the hour of death.* A still more touching form of the practice, and one for which, though of course the principle and the foundation are the same, we are not aware of any exact modern parallel, is recorded in the lives of several of the early fathers. It was their wont to compose their bodies in their last hour into the form of the cross, and with their feeble arms outstretched in memory of the instrument of their Redeemer's sufferings for their sake, to resign themselves with humble confidence into his hands. St. Jerome tells that the body of St. Paul the Hermit was discovered, after his death, by his disciple, St. Antony, composed into this sacred figure.§ St. Gregory of Tours relates that St. Eugenius, Bishop of Carthage, met death in the same Christian posture.|| Paulinus, the biographer of the great St. Ambrose, the light of his age, records that during the last hours of his life he "never ceased to pray with his arms outstretched in the fashion of a cross;"¶ and so familiar, so received, and so much in the spirit of the age was the holy usage, that Arnobius, in his commentary on the 140th Psalm, does not hesitate to apply to it the words, *Elevatio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum*; explaining the allusion to the evening,

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\* S. Greg. Nyssen, Vit. S. Macrinae.

† S. Aug. Opp. ii. 694.

‡ Epitaph, S. Paulæ.

§ Hier. de Vita S. Pauli. Op. p. 82. || Greg. Tur. Mirac. I. 53.

¶ Paulin. in Vita S. Ambrosii. appended to his Works, ii. 12.

as a mystic description of the evening of life, and explicitly interpreting the "raising up of the hands" of the pious usage of contemporary Christians, who, "when they are going forth to meet the Lord, raise up their hands in the form of a cross, and rejoice in the Lord Jesus."

(8) *In going to martyrdom.* Akin to this usage of the peaceful times of the early Church, was the beautiful practice of the martyrs, in the days of her persecution. One of the most affecting scenes in Eusebius's well-known description of the Martyrs of Palestine, is that in which he tells of a "youth of scarcely twenty years, standing unbound, *with his arms extended like a cross*, but with an intrepid and fearless earnestness, intensely engaged in prayer to God, neither declining nor removing from the spot where he stood, whilst bears and leopards breathed rage and death, and almost touched his very flesh."\* St. Ambrose's Homily on St. Agnes describes her as standing with outspread arms in the midst of the flames. St. Cyprian dwells with eloquent approval on the usage, and the generous Christian feeling in which it originated;† and one of the most striking passages in Prudentius' well-known Poem *περι στεφανων* is that in which he describes the very flame itself,—the instrument of the martyr's torture,—as almost miraculously interposing to free their arms from the bonds which confined them, and thus enable them to meet death in the attitude so dear to the generous soldier of Christ.

Hæc inter rapidos focos crepantes  
Intrant passibus, et minantur ipsi  
Flammarum trepidantibus caminis.  
Nexus denique, qui manus retrorsus  
In tergum revocaverant revinctas,  
Intacta cute deciderunt adusti.  
*Non ausa est cohibere pœna palmas  
In morem crucis ad Patrem levandas;  
Solvit brachia quæ Deum precantur.*

Nor are we left in doubt as to the meaning of this beautiful practice, and the virtue which was attached to it in the mind of the church of those days. St. Gregory Nazianzen tells of his own brother Cæsarius, that before an interview with Julian the apostate, he sought strength and

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\* Hist. viii. 7, p. 300, [Cruse's Tr.]

† De Exhort. Mart. c. 11. Opp. p. 304.



courage in the use of this emblem of the faith. "He armed himself with the sign of Christ as a shield, and sheltered himself under the power of his mighty word, against the attack of a man who was most experienced in military tactics, and distinguished for the power of his eloquence." \* St. Basil † puts a similar interpretation on the act of Gordius the martyr, a centurion of Cesarea; and St. Ephrem ‡ in his panegyric of the Forty Martyrs, dwells with holy pride upon this characteristic of their martyrdom. In a word, it is impossible not to see that the feeling which in the early champions of the faith develops itself in this touching and impressive usage, is the very same which to the present day lies at the root of every Catholic observance, even of those practices connected with the sign of the cross which are regarded as most superstitious, and which are most offensive, even to those of our own body who pride themselves upon the liberality and enlightenment of their views.

(9) But we have already exceeded the limits originally proposed for this portion of the subject; and therefore we shall content ourselves with grouping together a number of the minor coincidences of ancient and modern use. Each indeed would be in itself sufficiently interesting to form the subject of special examination; and all, considered as a whole, furnish so complete and satisfactory evidence of the perfect identity of views, of feelings, and of general tone of mind between the ancient Church and its modern successor, as to make it difficult to understand how any one at all acquainted with antiquity can fail to recognize the modern Church of Rome, not alone as in these respects the exact counterpart of the "Church of the Fathers," but as the only existing community of Western Christians which preserves, in its devotional system, even the slightest resemblance to the manners and observances of the early days of Christianity.

Let any one, for example, stand in the porch of a Protestant church, and observe the worshippers as they enter. Reverent, perhaps, they may seem in their bearing, and impressed with a sense of the solemnity of the duty which they are going to discharge. But they all without excep-

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\* Greg. Naz. in Laud. S. Cæsarii. i. 167.

† Basil. Orat. in S. Gordium. i. 446. ‡ Eph. Enc. in 40 Martyres.

tion pass him by, and "make no sign;" and he must turn away to the humble, and, as it may seem, uninstructed, worshippers of a Catholic church if he would discover the true descendants of the Christians in the days of St. Augustine, who, "when they entered a church, signed themselves with the sign of the cross."\* Let him observe them in the progress of their respective services. In a Church of Evangelical leanings he will find the sign held in absolute horror. If he chance to find himself in one of the churches whose congregations have been "led to the very verge of the precipice," as St. Andrew's, St. Margaret's, or St. Barnabas's, he may perchance hear the preacher commence his sermon with the words which, in Catholic usage, accompany the sign of the cross; but he will not see him boldly and openly employ the sign itself, with which, as we have already seen, even profane discourses, in the ancient days, were wont to begin. He will find that the modified and timid use of the cross which accompanies the dismissal of the congregation and the closing benediction, is one of the first and most serious grounds of charge against the incumbent of St. Andrew's; although every ancient liturgy which we possess, informs us that the *ἐφ' ἣν πᾶσι*, PAX OMNIBUS of the bishop, which occurs in every page of the ancient ceremonial, was accompanied then, as it is now, by the sacred sign. And as for the worshippers themselves, he will watch in vain in the Protestant church for any public or private use of the cross; while the frequent and reverential crossings which accompany all Catholic prayer, from the peer down to the pauper, in every rank and every class, as in the days of Chrysostom, † "among princes and subjects; among men and women, married and unmarried, slaves and free-born;" cannot fail to call to his mind the bearing of one of those congregations whom St. Augustine was wont to address, and to whom he used to say, as would a Catholic catechist at the present day, "*Let all sign themselves with the sign of Christ, and answer, Amen.*"

And in the more every day concerns of the early Christian life, there were numberless uses of the cross, which, if publicly resumed at the present day, would provoke the ridicule of every Protestant, and would scarcely be secure

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\* St. Aug. 30 Tract. in Ioannem.

† Opp. i. 571.

from the censures of Catholics themselves. Protestant travellers in Italy will sneer at the poor *vetturino*\* who crosses himself as he mounts his box, and takes the reins in his hand. Yet in so doing he is but literally fulfilling the precept of Tertullian, of Chrysostom, of Jerome and Augustine. We ourselves recollect no small amount of ridicule to have been incurred by a person, who, before plunging into the sea to swim, made the sign of the cross upon his forehead; yet a Christian in Tertullian's time would have done the same before the *Lavacra*; and it was the practice among the contemporaries of Chrysostom to cross themselves at entering the baths, (*thermas ingressi*.) The now familiar practice, too, of crossing oneself on occasion of any alarming or inauspicious event, was as familiar in the church of the fourth century. "If a man strike his foot against a stone," says St. Augustine, "he forthwith crosses himself." St. Ambrose tells us that the cross was for Christians the one antidote for all the various evil omens which could possibly befall.† And St. Chrysostom repeats the same counsel, with even greater minuteness of detail.

It would be tedious to pursue this further; and we shall only add that the coincidences, when fully investigated, will strike even Catholics themselves with wonder. The single passage which we have cited from St. John Chrysostom's Discourse on the Divinity of Christ, reveals many most interesting ones; and, in fact, shows us that if there be any difference between the ancient and modern use of the cross, the deficiency certainly must be charged upon the moderns. There is hardly a circumstance or an occasion in which it would be possible to employ it to which St. John does not point. The practice so unsparingly criticised by Protestant travellers in Italy, of placing a cross in all the cafés and places of entertainment, is exactly analogous to that mentioned by him when he describes the cross as the attendant of all the banquets [*συμπόσια*] of his own day. The crosses which he alludes to as displayed in the streets

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\* This is by no means, however, confined to the poor and uneducated in Italy. We have seen a Roman noble observe the usage in getting into his cabriolet in the streets of Rome; and, even in this country, we knew a very celebrated "gentleman Jock," who invariably blessed himself at mounting for a race.

† Sermon 43.

of the cities and upon the mountains, were but the prototype of the rude but expressive figures which meet the eye at every street corner in the continental cities, and in the most solitary mountain roads of the Appennines or the Tyrol. The cross was then, as it is now, the ornament of the Christian's bed-room. [παστασιν.] It was employed to adorn his books [βιβλίοις], to decorate the walls of his house [τευχῶν ἡρὰ φαις]; it was even marked upon his wearing apparel [ἱμάτιοις] and his ornaments [μοργυρίταις]. Nay, they carried the practice further than perhaps seem expedient to some of ourselves. It was graven upon their ordinary "vessels of gold and silver;" it was used upon the most profane occasions, as at festivals and dances [ἐν τρυφώντων χορείαις]; and was not considered out of place in the very games of the circus themselves.\* What would by many be almost considered vulgar superstition now, was then received and recognized by all. The vulgar usage of blessing a person who may chance to sneeze in our company, is but a reproduction of the olden rule, with this difference, that of old the sign of the cross accompanied the words: the custom of making the sign of the cross upon the mouth at yawning, is equally venerable for its antiquity;† and the crossing at grace before or after meals, which but a few years since weak Catholics used to employ so many amusing devices to conceal;—making believe, the while, to rub their forehead or chin, to settle the points of their collar, to draw out the tails of their cravat, or to adjust the folds of their waistcoat;—was a long established practice in the second century.

But we have said more than enough, we feel assured, upon this branch of the subject, to satisfy even the most sceptical. It is impossible, as regards this particular, to entertain a doubt, as to what community of modern Christians the fathers of the five first centuries, could they return to earth, would identify as their brethren or fellow-worshippers.

We shall, therefore, devote what remains of our space to the consideration of a point even more important than the bare history of the practice; we mean the purposes for which it was usual to employ it, and the effects which, in

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\* S. Aug. Opp. iv. 583.

† Chrys. in 3 Colos. Hom. 8.

the views of those times, were attributed to it. We have already observed that it may be urged in reply to all that we have said, that what Protestants condemn in our modern practice, is not simply the use of the sign of the cross, for which they admit there is precedent in early christian history; but the "superstitious uses" to which modern Catholics have perverted it, and which were utterly unknown in the former ages of the church. This is, of course, the meaning, if it have any, of the epithet "superstitious" in the Durham manifesto; though it is hard to understand how, taking the official explanation of that document, and understanding it to apply solely to the sparing and modified practice of the "unworthy sons of the Church of England," there can be any use of the sign of the cross which is not superstitious, whereas that practised by the Tractarians, the very simplest and most limited which it is possible to conceive, is thought deserving of that opprobrious designation. It will be felt, therefore, that any examination of the question would be necessarily incomplete, which shall not include this important branch of the enquiry.

III. EFFECTS ASCRIBED TO THE SIGN OF THE CROSS IN THE EARLY CHURCH.—We do not hesitate, then, to say, that there exists precisely the same identity between the ancient and modern notions as to the virtue and efficacy of the sign of the cross, the purposes for which it is to be employed, and the effects which, under God's blessing, may be humbly hoped for from its use, as we have already shown to subsist between the ancient and modern practice itself; and especially that those uses of the holy sign, and those notions regarding it, which the Durham school would pronounce to be most unequivocally Romish and most hopelessly liable to the charge of superstition, were as frequent, as popular, and as authoritatively received, in the schools of Chrysostom, Augustine, Ephrem, or Epiphanius, as they would be in a modern society of the Living Rosary.

Our proof must of necessity be very brief; and perhaps it will be best understood from a few parallelisms of practice.

If there be any superstitious uses of the sign of the cross at all, we should suppose that to employ it (1) as a means of obtaining the cure of a disease, or (2) as a protection against diabolical influence, or (3) as a means of imparting a certain permanent holiness, and perhaps semi-superna-

tural virtue, to material objects, as for example, water, bread, oil, &c., must surely be reckoned in that category. Now there is not one of these and similar uses for which the history of the early centuries does not furnish abundant and most satisfactory precedents.

(1) One of the leading peculiarities of modern Catholic devotional feeling is that strong and deep consciousness of God's presence among the members of the Church, and the abiding and permanent manifestations of His power, by which He is believed to confirm, from time to time, the faith and stimulate the love of His children. Carried occasionally to imprudent excess—excited upon false or insufficient grounds—and hastily indulged without full and satisfactory investigation, this feeling, nevertheless, of the abiding power of miracles in the Church, and this tendency to accept and even to look for its occasional manifestation, has ever existed in the minds of devout Catholics, and has supplied to our Protestant adversaries the most abundant armoury of ridicule and invective. How seldom does it occur to them, and perhaps even to ourselves, that the same weapons precisely might be turned, and even turned against the Christians of the fourth and fifth centuries!

Let us suppose, for instance, the following case. After the death of a holy nun, one of her companions reveals for the first time, as an evidence of her sanctity, a great favour which she had received from God during life, but which her humility had concealed till the very last. A large and, as it was believed, incurable, tumour had once appeared upon her breast. Her mother urged her repeatedly to take the advice of some surgeon, and, if necessary, to have it removed by an operation. But through a feeling of virginal delicacy, which it is difficult not to call excessive, she could not be induced to expose her breast, even to the eyes of the physician; and after praying with tears to God, she entreated her mother to desist from her importunities, and with humble confidence to make the sign of the cross upon the affected part. Her mother, yielding, even against hope, to the earnestness of this entreaty, complied with her request. It pleased God to reward her faith. The tumour disappeared, and left no trace behind but a slight mark "not larger than the prick of a pin," which was visible even after death. Suppose a Protestant met this tale in one of the "Lives



of the Modern Saints," or was told it by one of the nuns of a French or Italian convent, no one can doubt that he would at once set it down as a weak delusion, or perhaps a pious fraud. Yet this very tale was told in almost the words of our text, to the great St. Gregory of Nyssa. The holy nun of whom it is related, and on whose virginal breast he saw with his own eyes after her death the "small mark like the prick of a pin's point," was St. Macrina, his own sister, and the sister of St. Basil; and his informant was Vestiana, a lady of the highest rank, and most unimpeachable veracity.\*

Or a still more remarkable case, though in many respects not dissimilar:—

A matron of high rank, who had long been under medical treatment for cancer, was at length assured by her physician that her case was beyond all hope, and that the only relief within the range of medicine was to alleviate her sufferings by anodynes and fomentations. The lady, despairing of human aid, had recourse to God. In her sleep she was admonished by a dream, to watch in the baptistery of the church during the solemn administration of baptism at the approaching Easter festival, and to request the first of the newly-baptized simply to make the sign of the cross upon the diseased part. She followed the admonition, and was instantaneously cured. The physician, who was a pagan, was struck with amazement at his next visit; he eagerly enquired from her to what extraordinarily powerful remedy a cure so sudden and so complete was due; and so signal was the recovery, that he treated with ridicule her simple narrative of the manner in which it was effected.

Only imagine what a storm of ridicule and ribaldry a modern bishop would have to encounter, who should dare to publish with the authority of his name such a narrative as this. If Cardinal Wiseman, for example, were to hold an enquiry into the alleged facts, and to declare publicly and authoritatively his belief of their truth, how *The Times* would rail, and *The Globe* would sneer, and the *Examiner* would scoff, and the *Herald* or *Guardian* would pour out a torrent of the lowest Billingsgate! And yet if Cardinal Wiseman thought it expedient to hold such an enquiry, and to make such a publication, he would but be

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\* Greg. Nyss, in Vit. S. Macrinæ. See Gretser, I. 758.

following in the footsteps of one whom it should be the pride of every Christian bishop to imitate,—the great St. Augustine himself; who when he heard these facts, “was indignant that so great a miracle, not obscurely wrought in such a city, and on so distinguished an individual, should remain unknown;” and therefore called the lady before him, and required her to relate publicly “all the facts, in the order in which they had occurred.” If any one doubt this statement, let him turn to the eighth chapter of the twenty-second book of St. Augustine’s great work *De Civitate Dei*.\*

In the same scoffing and incredulous spirit would they receive what Theodoret tells as having occurred in the case of his own mother. She was suffering under an affection of the eyes, which the faculty had declared incurable; when one of her friends recommended her to have recourse to the prayers of a holy man named Peter, assuring her that his own wife had already experienced the benefit of his intercession. Theodoret’s mother applied without delay to Peter. He expressed great reluctance to accede to her request, telling her that he was a weak and sinful man; but in the end, overcome by her importunity, he told her to pray with confidence to God, who might grant her prayer, “not as a favour to himself, but as the reward of her faith.” Thereupon he “laid his hands upon her eyes, made the sign of the cross upon them, and her disease was driven away.”†

It would be easy to multiply examples of the same class from Theodoret, Paulinus, Gregory of Tours,‡ and other writers of the same period. But we have said enough to establish a perfect community of feeling and of thought between the Christians of those days and the most superstitious of modern Catholics as to the remedial, and often miraculous virtue, occasionally ascribed to this holy emblem. It would be difficult to find any modern instance, illustrating this impression more strikingly than those which we have produced.

(2) The parallel is perhaps even stronger as regards the second effect—its protecting power against diabolical influ-

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\* Opp. vii. 763. [Migne’s Ed.]

† Theodor. Hist. Religiosæ. Vita Petri. III. 1190. [Halle Ed.]

‡ See Gretser, I. 758.

ence. If there be any point on which the ideas of the ancient Christians stand in marked and special opposition to those of modern Protestantism, it is that which regards diabolical agency. It is impossible to read, in the most cursory way, even the very earliest of the fathers, without being struck by evidences of a belief in the reality of diabolical interference, both physical and moral, in the affairs of every-day life, which will shock all the ideas of modern enlightenment. Indeed this belief is so strongly marked in the New, as well as in the Old Testament, that it is impossible not to regard as a strange anomaly in the creed of those who take Scripture as their guide, so strong a disinclination to admit even the possibility of such interposition. With the Catholic it is entirely different. The clear and unmistakable language of the Scripture; the practice of exorcism which the Church has maintained from the very earliest times; the frequent and unhesitating declarations of the fathers; the marked allusions in almost every office of the ritual; have all created for us a frame of mind believing and reverential, but yet free from all debasing or superstitious terror, which enables us to understand the nature of these influences, and to accept the antidotes which the Church has ordained against their power. To a Protestant, for example, how supremely ridiculous would be the idea of deserting a country-house, under the impression that it was subject to the influence of malignant spirits! Still more, what gross and silly superstition he would deem it, to seek to remove the visitation and to expel the evil spirits, by procuring the Holy Sacrifice to be offered within its walls! To a Catholic nothing is more easy, provided always there be sufficient reasons for it, than the belief; and nothing more natural and more fitting than the remedy. Which of the two is more in the spirit of the early Church? Let St. Augustine, in the same chapter of the twenty-second Book of the *De Civitate Dei*, decide. "There is an officer, [vir tribunitius] named Hesperius, in our city," he says. "He has a country-house called Zubedi, in the Fussalan territory. Having suspected, from various visitations which befel his cattle and his servants, that the house was suffering from the noxious influence of malignant spirits, he begged that *some of my priests* (I was absent myself at the time) *would go there*, in the hope that they *might be driven away by his prayers*. One of them accordingly went, offered the Sacrifice of the

Body of Christ, and prayed with all fervour that the visitation might be put an end to. Through the mercy of God it ceased immediately afterwards."\*

In this instance the antidote employed was "the Sacrifice of Christ's Body;" but no remedy is more frequent in the writings of the fathers, than the sign of the cross. Even in the days of persecution, this practice was so familiar as to be known even to the Pagans. The last and most terrible of all the persecutions, that under Galerius and Diocletian, was occasioned by the representation which the Pagan priests at Nicomedia made to Diocletian, that the omens could not be successfully taken, because they were frustrated by the Christians in his train making the sign of the cross.† It was by the sign of the cross that the virgin martyr, St. Justina, defended herself against the incantations of the magician Cyprian,‡ and against the power of the demons, whom he invoked, but who were "shamed and overcome by the sign of the cross." [ἡσχυμένους καὶ νενικημένους τῇ σταυρῇ τῇ τυπῇ.] An equally interesting evidence of the belief is the anecdote told of Julian the Apostate; that, while consulting a magician who had evoked a spirit for him, he was so terrified by the apparition, that, under an impulse of early habit, he *made the sign of the cross*, and thus unconsciously frustrated the whole incantation. The anecdote is told by Gregory Nazianzen, by Theodoret, and at very great length, and with much poetical effect, by Prudentius. We are free of course to doubt the fact; but it is impossible to call in question the existence of the practice on which it is founded, or to deny the prevalence of the impression in which this practice had its origin.

The works of St. Gregory of Nyssa, of St. Jerome, of Theodoret, of St. Augustine, St. Paulinus, St. Gregory, and other fathers,§ would supply an endless series of similar, and even more remarkable examples. The principle, indeed, is written upon the very face of the records of these centuries. To the unbeliever who regards the christian religion as a gigantic delusion, or the Latitudinarian

\* Opp. VII. 764.

† Lactantius De Mort. Persec. iv. 27.

‡ Greg. Naz. Orat. in Cyprianum. I. 279. See also the Acts of Cyprian's Martyrdom in Ruinart.

§ See Gretser, i. 730.

who looks upon the Church as having lapsed into corruption in her very cradle, we can understand the absolute and total rejection of the doctrine, as involved in the insufficiency of the authority on which it rests. But that any one, who receives the authority of Scripture, or regards with feelings of even modified reverence, the practical interpretation put upon the literal text of the Gospel by the unanimous sense of the early Church, should entertain a doubt, much less a positive incredulity, with regard to this primitive usage, we profess ourselves utterly unable to conceive, and, with every disposition to the most charitable construction, utterly incompetent to justify.

(3.) The primitive belief in the sanctifying power of the sign of the cross, and its power of imparting a permanent and abiding consecration, is equally certain and indisputable. Indeed, the traces of this belief are so abundant, so interesting, and, in many respects, so curious, that we should gladly, if circumstances permitted, enter at some length into this special branch of the subject. For the present, a very few facts will suffice to establish the same parallel of ancient and modern practice in this particular, which has been shown to exist in every other detail connected with this great christian emblem. The history of the fourth and fifth centuries contains numberless examples of blessing with the sign of the cross, which, in unbelieving eyes, will appear the grossest superstition, and for which certainly no modern Church, except that of Rome, presents, either in the rite or the spirit which it supposes, the faintest shade of resemblance. Even in the boldest devices of innovation to which the Tractarian movement gave occasion, we have never heard of any imitation or adaptation of the Catholic practice of blessing water for devotional or other purposes. Yet one should have thought that among the many manifestations of zeal for the revival of primitive practice, this usage might have occurred to some one, at least, in a qualified shape. A very little research would have supplied abundant precedents; certainly as many as could be quoted in favour of the use of lights upon the altar, which actually met approval even from those who were by no means foremost in the race of innovation. St. Epiphanius\* would have supplied a case of a Jewish convert, named Joseph, who

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\* *Hec.* xxx. I. 134.

cured a violent lunatic at Tiberias by "sprinkling him with water signed with the sign of the cross;" and another, in which recourse was had to the same remedy against the supposed machinations of certain Jewish magicians.\* Again, it would create no trivial sensation in these days, were it announced that a popish priest had been sent for to the royal stables at Windsor, and had cured her Majesty's favourite horse, simply by giving him water to drink, blessed with the sign of the cross. Yet, if any lover of antiquity will refer to the *Historia Religiosa* of Theodoret, he will find it related, with all the simple confidence of undoubting belief, that the hermit Aphraates cured by this very process, the favourite horse of the Emperor Valens.†

In like manner, we have often heard travelled bigots dwell with no sparing bitterness upon the superstitious blessing against the plague of locusts, which is found in the Roman Ritual, and is occasionally employed in Rome on the occurrence of these disastrous visitations. Now it is very curious that Theodoret's history of this same Aphraates, furnishes an exact precedent for this very usage. He tells with the utmost simplicity, how a poor man, who had but a single field as his entire means of subsistence, came to Aphraates, and with tears in his eyes, besought him to obtain for him protection against the threatened visitation, which, to him and his family, would prove certain and complete ruin. Aphraates simply made the sign of the cross over a vessel of water, and ordered him to sprinkle it around his little field. And Theodoret adds, that when the insects reached this charmed boundary, they were arrested "by the water, as by an impregnable wall," [ἐρκευ ἀμαχῇ] and spared in their devastation the little crop thus preternaturally protected.‡ How the congregation of a modern parish would stare if, in his zeal for antiquity, the rector, in a similar visitation, were to "go and do likewise!"

Another peculiar Roman usage, which furnishes abundant merriment to foreign sight-seers, is the blessing of the horses and other domestic animals on St. Anthony's festival. In our eyes, this simple usage has always appeared most natural and appropriate;—not alone as a recognition

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\* Ibid.

† Hist. Relig. Aphraates. III. 1133.

‡ Ibid. 1184-5.



of God's providence over all His creatures, but as a special invocation of His benediction upon the creatures which He has bestowed for the use of man. But it has the further recommendation of being fully in accordance with the letter, as well as the spirit, of the ancient practice. The principle is fully recognised in the beautiful and expressive blessing which, St. Jerome tells us, the great saint whose festival is selected for the modern usage, bestowed upon the lions which did reverence to the dead body of St. Paul the Hermit.\* The case of Aphraates, already cited from Theodoret, furnishes a literal precedent. A passage of St. Chrysostom, cited in a former page, and testifying to the use of the cross in the case of diseased cattle, supplies a further confirmation; and St. Gregory the Great relates an instance in which Fortunatus, bishop of Tudertum, cured a soldier's horse by "stretching out his hand and making the sign of the cross upon his head."†

So again, we find a precedent for the blessing of bread in St. Jerome's Life of Hilarion.‡ The interchange of bread thus blessed (Eulogia), was an ordinary act of friendly communion. St. Paulinus sent bread from Campania to St. Augustine, with the request, *Rogamus accipiendo benedicas*;§ St. Augustine sends it in his turn to Paulinus (II. 125); and he alludes to the practice of giving bread thus blessed to the catechumens, who were of course excluded from the participation of the blessed Eucharist.

Of the blessing of oil we have numberless examples. Tertullian|| tells, that the Emperor Severus was cured with oil by a Christian named Proculus; he alludes in his book *Scorpiace*, to the habitual use of oil against the bite of a scorpion; and in blessing it, although he does not expressly mention the use of the cross, yet this is no very difficult inference from what he says elsewhere of its universality among christians. St. Jerome tells, that the bishops, clergy, and people of the entire province in which the holy Abbot Hilarion lived, used to come in crowds to him for blessed oil during a time of pestilence.¶ Theodoret's Religious History is full of such cases. An unhappy

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\* Opp. p. 83.

† Dial. i. 10. II. 197.

‡ Opp. p. 85.

§ Aug. Opp. II. 103.

|| Ad. Scap. iv., p. 147, Oxf. Tr.

¶ Vit. Hilar. Opp. p. 85.

wife comes to Aphraates, for some holy oil, as a means of recovering the affections of an unfaithful husband.\* The clergy of Antioch apply to the hermit Polychronius, to bless oil, on occasion of a dreadful drought by which the province had been visited;† and even the Queen of Persia sends to St. Simeon Stylites upon a similar errand.‡ Only imagine Queen Victoria applying to one of the royal chaplains for such a ministration! And yet, in the early Church, this blessing was invariably accompanied by the use of the cross; for St. Augustine expressly declares, that “if this sign be not applied to the oil wherewith the faithful are anointed, it is not duly performed.”§

But we have allowed ourselves to be carried far beyond what we originally proposed. We must cut short all further details, trusting to those which we have brought forward as a means of stimulating to more complete and comprehensive inquiry. We shall only add that there is not a single material object connected with the public or private devotional services of the early christians, in which the use of the sign of our redemption may not be traced; from the blessing of the mystic salt|| which the Church employs in more than one of her services, to that of the temples in which we assemble for worship, and the altars¶ upon which the Body and Blood of Christ are offered for our salvation.

We are tempted, notwithstanding the length to which we have already gone, to transcribe, before we close, the manly and eloquent vindication of this symbol which Mr. Bennett has introduced in his letter to Lord John Russell.

“Next to the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Church, you mention ‘*the sign of the cross*,’ and you call it superstitious. I do not suppose you mean to make any distinction between a superstitious sign of the cross, and a sign not superstitious; because if you only mean that, of course we grant your charge at once. Anything superstitious, as such, is of course objectionable. Superstitious prayers, superstitious reception of sacraments, superstitious reading of the Bible, as far as it is superstitious, is of course wrong; but take away the superstition and then the thing itself is right. This you would readily grant. But what you mean no doubt is this,

\* III. p. 1184. † Ib. 1261. ‡ Ib. 1279. § III. 1950.

|| St. Greg., Turon.; also S. Aug. Opp. I. 668.

¶ St. Aug. 19 Sermon, De Sanctis.

that *all* use of the sign of the cross is superstitious. If so, then you go against the Church, which commands it at the font in baptism. I myself will freely confess to you, that I highly delight in that holy sign. I have long been accustomed to use it on all great occasions, and in all holy places, and recommend it to others. If persons take offence at it, they must remember Him whose sign it is, and learn better. I use the holy sign, not for superstition, but in token that I am not ashamed 'to confess the faith of Christ crucified, but hope manfully (with God's grace) to fight under that banner against sin, the world, and the devil.' It seems to come so naturally and so gracefully from the baptismal font. It seems so beautiful and simple a type of our love of our blessed Saviour. It seems so called for in this present age of unbelief and worldliness. It seems so hallowing and purifying an invocation of His presence, and of the atonement by which we are saved, that in the first instance, viewed abstractedly and without prejudice,—where the true Christian could be found to object to it, it is beyond me to imagine. I can conceive a Socinian, or a Deist, or a Unitarian, or some violent heretic of that kind, to object both to the name of the Holy Trinity and the Cross of Jesus, both its doctrine and its sign; but how an orthodox Christian can object (always setting aside *prejudice*,) I am quite at a loss to understand. In Bishop Grindall's Articles of Visitation, it is said: 'No persons are allowed to wear beads...nor superstitiously to make the sign of the Cross when they enter the church;' upon which Collier remarks: 'But supposing they did not do these things superstitiously, it is possible they might not come within the censure of the article.'—Collier, part 2, b. vi. There may be an allowed distinction between doing a thing *superstitiously*, and doing it with a pure and devotional mind. Why should it be of necessity *superstitious*? Edward VI. and Elizabeth both used the sign of the Cross in touching for the king's-evil—both good Protestants. L'Estrange, in his *Alliance of Divine Offices*, mentions it with approval. Our own Canons speak of it as permissible (30th of 1603.) At the end of Edward VI.'s first Prayer-Book, I find this note: 'As touching kneeling, crossing, holding up of hands, knocking upon the breast, and other gestures, they may be used or left, as any man's devotion serveth, without blame.' And it may be observed, that nothing in subsequent editions of the Prayer-Book has ever contradicted this. What we want is to get rid of *puritanical prejudice*, and to judge of matters intrinsically of themselves. I believe your Lordship is a great admirer of the writings of Dr. Arnold, whom indeed I quoted before concerning honour paid to saints. If you will turn to the life of that eminent man, lately published, vol. i., you will find that he was an advocate not for the Cross only, but for the Crucifix. 'The second commandment,' he says, 'is in the letter utterly done away with by the fact of the Incarnation. To refuse, then, the benefit which we might derive from the frequent use of the Crucifix, under the pretence

of the second commandment, is a folly, because God has sanctioned one conceivable similitude of Himself, when he declared Himself in the person of Christ.' In another place, he says: I like the simple crosses and oratories by the road side.' (Vol. ii., p. 362.) Again he says:—

" 1. 'The open churches, the varied services, the beautiful solemnities, the processions, the Calvaries, the crucifixes, the appeals to the eye and ear through which the heart is reached most effectually, have no natural connection with superstition.'—*Life and Corresp.* ii., 395.

" 2. 'In the crypt is a calvary and figures as large as life, representing the burying of our Lord. The woman who showed us the crypt, had her little girl with her; and she lifted up the child, about three years old to kiss the feet of our Lord. Is this idolatry? Nay, verily, it may be so, but it need not be, and assuredly is in itself right and natural. I confess I rather envied the child. It is idolatry to talk about holy church and holy fathers—bowing down to fallible and sinful men; not to bend knee, lip, and heart, to every thought, and every image of Him our manifested God.'—p. 402.

" 3. 'We found the afternoon service going on at the cathedral, and the archbishop, with his priests and the choristers, were going round the church in procession, chaunting some of their hymns, and with a great multitude of people following them. The effect was very fine; and I again lamented our neglect of our cathedrals, and the absurd confusion in so many minds between what is really popery and what is but wisdom and beauty, adopted by the Roman Catholics, and neglected by us.'—p. 434."—(p. 35-7.)

It is impossible not to feel the warmth and heartiness of this appeal. Nor is it easy to suppress a movement of sympathy for a mind such as this appeal bespeaks, writhing under the trammels of a system with all whose details it seems utterly discordant. We can but hope and pray that the sense of this incongeniality may strengthen by the very indulgence of such feelings; and in that hope, we gratefully accept this and every similar manifestation.

For a sincere and earnest Catholic, the picture of early usages which we have endeavoured to sketch, will possess a significance, far beyond the mere evidence which they contain, of the use of the holy sign to which Mr. Bennett clings with so much enthusiasm. And we will confess that our object has been a far higher one than that of merely establishing the holiness and antiquity of this practice. We regard this, though a most cheering and consoling result, as of comparatively minor importance. Far

more grave and serious matter for reflection will be found in the general tone and character of the times themselves, as exhibited in the miscellaneous anecdotes which we have thrown together, and in the uniform spirit which pervades the whole body of the extracts from the fathers and other ecclesiastical writers, to whom we have appealed. That any man, or body of men, living in a religious atmosphere such as that which forms the very life of modern Protestantism, could think, or write, or act as we have seen the Fathers of the early centuries, is a patent impossibility. Every usage of the time would have clashed with their first principles. The whole frame of the public mind would have revolted them. They would have been strangers and outlaws in the Church of such worshippers as Jerome, Chrysostom, or Augustine. It is plain that the religious usages which, as we have seen, these fathers recognize, were not the offspring of a refined æstheticism, or the arbitrary expression of a fanciful appreciation of the poetical beauty and significance of the rites themselves. They were parts of one uniform and consistent scheme, and the natural and spontaneous outpouring of the soul which animated it and gave it consistency. And he who would throw himself honestly into the religious life of these times, must accept it humbly, sincerely, and generously;—not with the proud and sceptical criticism of an eclectic, but in the fulness of its system, and the integrity of its spirit,

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ART. VI.—1. *A Letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., on the position which he has taken in the Present Crisis.* By W. DODSWORTH, M. A. London: Pickering, 1850.

2. *A Letter to the Right Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London, in Explanation of some statements contained in a Letter by the Rev. W. Dodsworth.* By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., &c. &c. Oxford: Parker, 1851.

3. *A Few Comments on Dr. Pusey's Letter to the Bishop of London.* By W. DODSWORTH, M. A. London: Pickering, 1851.

4. *Renewed Explanation in Consequence of the Rev. W. Dodsworth's "Comments."* London: Pickering, 1851.

THE origin and history of this correspondence may be thus briefly stated. After the celebrated "Gorham" decision, it was felt by a large majority of the high church

party whom it affected, that nothing short of an explicit declaration on the doctrine of Holy Baptism, accompanied by an appeal from the judgment of the Queen in council, to that of an ecclesiastical Synod, (*in posse*) could clear their Church from the effects of such a shock. Dr. Pusey, however, with an amiable desire, which he has ever manifested, to bring extreme parties together, appears to have shrunk from hazarding a final rupture with the "evangelical" section of churchmen, and accordingly proposed, as a measure of conciliation, a certain statement of the disputed doctrine, which, whether justly or not, his friend, Mr. Dodsworth, considered to be unworthy of him, and altogether inadequate to the emergency. Whereupon Mr. Dodsworth publishes the pamphlet which heads our list, in the way of exception and remonstrance against what he feels to be the line of compromise. His objections to the course proposed by Dr. Pusey, with a view to the actual necessity, seem to have been subsequently admitted by Dr. Pusey himself; for in a letter which he writes to Mr. Dodsworth, in the *Guardian* newspaper, of June 19, 1850, he withdraws the objectionable symbol, as at any rate, insufficient "at that time." And thus the controversy between himself and Mr. Dodsworth, so far as related to the Gorham case, was practically brought to a close. It is another matter how Dr. Pusey now gets over the fact, that the judgment which at first he thought it so necessary to obviate, remains on record, without a single united, or authoritative, protest against it, on the part of the Church of England. In the mean time, we all know to our great joy and edification, how Mr. Dodsworth has acted under the difficulty, or rather we should say, how he has dealt with the whole question of the claims of Anglicanism, which, we must consider, were in no sense *staked* on the Gorham question, although in that memorable judgment, their futility did undoubtedly receive a new and remarkable exposure.

The object of Mr. Dodsworth's pamphlet is to point out the contrariety between what he regards as Dr. Pusey's retrograde step in the Gorham matter, and his "teaching and practice" up to that time, which he proceeds to exemplify in several of its particulars. And Dr. Pusey begins his Letter to the Bishop of London by defending his "teaching and practice," a phrase which sounds unusual, indeed, in our Catholic ears. Let us imagine for a moment, one



of our own priests writing a letter to the Archbishop of Westminster, to vindicate "*his* teaching and practice." How clearly do such unpremeditated phrases indicate, beyond the power of argument to contradict, or its need to illustrate, the essentially uncatholic character of Dr. Pusey's ground! But, letting this pass with a cursory observation, we will proceed to Mr. Dodsworth's "points."

The first article of teaching or practice attributed to Dr. Pusey, is that of having "constantly and commonly" administered the sacrament of Penance, and of having encouraged, if not enjoined, auricular confession, and given special priestly absolution.

Dr. Pusey replies in a manner which ought to satisfy all but very unreasonable Protestants. Our own wonder is that either he or any one else should have ever understood Mr. Dodsworth's words as conveying a *reproach*. Dr. Pusey seems hurt by Mr. Dodsworth's word "enjoined," while he has no objection to be thought to have "encouraged" the practice of confession. Mr. Dodsworth, however, as will be observed, does not directly assert more than that he "encouraged" it; and thus there is really, as Mr. Dodsworth shows in his "comments," no difference between them. Nor, again, is there any difference as to the point of "administering the sacrament of penance," i. e., of having administered penance or "penitence, (as Dr. Pusey prefers calling it,) as a sacramental rite, for to this Dr. Pusey confesses. And the giving of special priestly absolution, or at least undertaking to give it, is but a part of the act of administering the duties of a confessor. But all this does not prove Dr. Pusey to be "a Papist," as he is so often called. We agree with him altogether as to the supreme injustice of such an accusation. Neither can we suppose that Mr. Dodsworth ever intended to bring it against him. He is, we are satisfied, too kind and amiable a man to have any thought of what is commonly called, "shewing up" his friend in the eyes of the Protestant public. He meant to state facts, and these facts Dr. Pusey has acknowledged. He meant no more, as we are bound to understand him, than to contrast Dr. Pusey's apparent wavering about the Gorham case with the known character of his "teaching and practice;" and for Mr. Dodsworth's argument nothing more was necessary than to prove that Dr. Pusey, after the Gorham judgment, was at variance with his former self. And this Mr. Dodsworth

does shew, (on the one hand,) in that Dr. Pusey was then content to accept a symbol on the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, which would have been understood by the Evangelical party as favourable to their doctrine of the universal necessity of conversion after Baptism; and, (on the other,) in that his views and conduct up to that time had been in a direction the very opposite to the tenor of his proposed declaration. To shew this was, we repeat, all that Mr. Dodsworth professed to do, and in this he has succeeded. With respect to Dr. Pusey's symbol, it is enough to say that it is open to the objection lying against all forms which are purposely drawn up to include the heretical with the orthodox construction. It is wonderful Dr. Pusey does not see that unless Anglicanism be a sham, it and "Evangelicalism" are in diametrical and irreconcilable opposition. On no principle can Evangelicals and Anglicans coalesce in the same communion but upon that of such communion being tolerant of opposite opinions. For, the profession of Anglicanism, if it have a profession, is distinctly sacramental, and the profession of Evangelicalism is distinctly the reverse, and these two systems, being in fact truth and error, can never be fused into each other, either in their integrity or in any of their parts. Dr. Pusey, then, in his simplicity, may fancy himself a Catholic; he may hear confessions and give absolution with the Lutherans; he may, with the Lutherans also, adopt a view of the Blessed Eucharist, which looks as like our doctrine as words can make it, but just lacks that dogmatic precision of statement which would cut it off from heresy; he may "adapt" Catholic devotions (as Mr. Dodsworth truly observes,) upon a "distinctively Protestant principle;" he may allow spiritual rosaries without beads, or beads without Aves; and in these ways he may gain all the obloquy of a better cause; still Catholic he is not, nor any thing but pure Protestant, as long as he admits fellowship with those who avow anti-sacramental, or rather anti-religious doctrines and principles, or act upon them where they do not openly avow them. Dr. Pusey does not see that neither Catholicism nor heresy admits of degrees. A man either is a Catholic or a heretic, or he is not. Persons of Catholic *tendencies* there may be who are not Catholics, and persons of heretical *tendencies* who are. But it is a question of fact, not of degree. A heretic is one (as the name imports) who *chooses doctrine for him-*

self; a Catholic one who accepts it on the authority, not of Scripture, (which is a document, not an authority;) not of Fathers, who are witnesses, not teachers; but of the living Church, the interpreter of both. And if it be said in reply, that this account does not meet the question, what and where the living Church *is*, we rejoin, that anyhow Dr. Pusey has nothing to which *he* can appeal but *documents* in the place of a Church. What, for instance, is *our* Church? A living, ruling, teaching authority, to whose recorded judgments we can point, whose oracles we can consult. And the same is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of the separated Greek Church. But what is Dr. Pusey's Church? Not the Pope, not the Bishops, not the Emperor, nor any representation of any authority clothed in definite form; but certain Fathers, some of whom use language upon which subsequent, though early dogmatic decisions cast the shade of heresy; certain divines, arbitrarily chosen as the representatives of his own Church, which at most they did but represent during a brief and former period of its history; a select mediæval saint, a stray High-Churchman or two among the existing body of Bishops; parts of the Homilies, the least heretical of the Reformers, or of Continental Protestants; the more depraved heretics themselves in their more orthodox moods, or in their more "liberal" allowances, or in their more unstudied instincts of devotion; a medley, in short, of Ante-Nicene Fathers, Caroline Divines, Luther, Melancthon, St. Bernard, the Bishop of Exeter, and Dr. Arnold, collected as the interpreters of equivocal articles and a defective liturgy; and this against things that *do*, at all events, *look* like authoritative teaching on the other side; such as *ex cathedrâ* documents of Bishops, practical and operative judgments of ecclesiastical courts, and, more recently, the result of an appeal, (admitted on all hands as legitimate *till* it ended as it did,) to the highest tribunal of the Church of England. We say it reluctantly, because it bears against a most amiable, devoted, and, we sincerely believe, conscientious man; but say it we must, for it is a duty to the Church, that such a system is heretical to the very core; that if it could succeed in importing every Catholic doctrine in existence into the Church of England, it would be still essentially Protestant; for if it involve truth, it does so only by accident, by preference, and not on submission. Dr. Pusey

himself, little as we are sure he realizes it, is in fact the beginning and end of his own teaching; he is the deviser, the arranger, the interpreter, of his materials; he makes the witnesses speak for his own side; he dresses up the evidence, taking this treatise of one Father, and that of another, biassing the reader by notes, systematizing the matter by dissertations, magnifying the little, amplifying the scanty, protruding the favourable, and overlooking the adverse. His system is rightly called "Puseyism;" it began with him, and it will die whenever he, either in the course of nature, (*quod absit*,) or, (which God grant,) in obedience to the call of duty, shall cease to be its representative. To call it Anglicanism is almost as absurd as to call it Catholicism. There is not a single authority in the Anglican communion, either past, or actual, which could be quoted as simply sanctioning it. There are not two Bishops at this moment who do more than tolerate it; nor even one who consistently upholds it. Nor is it less distinct from any former phase of opinion in the Anglican communion than from the present teaching. There is, we are bound to say, a fervour, a large-heartedness, a poetry about Dr. Pusey's language, which are utterly wanting in any Anglican divinity, with the exception, perhaps, of Andrewes and Taylor. But Taylor was a heretic on more than one fundamental point of doctrine, and Andrewes does not sustain, in other places, the tone of his beautiful devotions. Dr. Pusey, like most thinking men in the Church of England, has passed through various stages of religious opinion; and in the more orthodox form which his views now take, there remain evident traces of the depth and warmth of religious feeling which is characteristic of the better, and, it would seem, rapidly decreasing, section of "Evangelicals." Oh that he might yet learn from experience the scope which our holy Religion gives for the exercise of such religious affections, by deepening and strengthening the foundations of holy doctrine in the soul, and securing that true peace which comes but with the utter annihilation of self before the authority and majesty of the Church!

We propose now to examine briefly Dr. Pusey's defence of himself on the different points of teaching and practice, brought under his observation by Mr. Dodsworth's pamphlet. In treating of these subjects we shall neither lay claim to, nor exact more theological knowledge than ordinarily

well instructed Catholics may be expected to bring to the consideration of questions affecting some of the most practical parts of our holy Faith.

And first, of Sacramental Confession. For the practice of hearing confession in his church, Dr. Pusey finds a warrant in the Exhortation in the Communion Office of the Prayer-book, bidding those who cannot otherwise quiet their consciences to go to "some discreet and learned minister of the Word, and open their griefs to him so as to receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of their consciences and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness;" words which certainly justify an Anglican clergyman in receiving a confession, on some special point of conscientious difficulty, with a view to holy communion, or rather oblige him to do so. It is however quite a different question, and one which we should have thought required a distinct reference to ecclesiastical authority, whether these words, quite unsupported by the general practice of the Church of England at any period of its history, can be considered to form a warrant for that extensive administration of the confessorial powers which Dr. Pusey founds upon them. For such a construction of these words will be seen to transfer the judgment of the necessity for confession from the penitent to the clergy, and to change the rare occasion of an individual and partial scruple into an habitual and conscientious requirement: in short, it supposes the clergyman to say to his flock: "If you have no such scruples about going to holy communion, you ought to have them." For except they were thus construed, few and far between we conceive would be the insoluble perplexities of the Protestant conscience. And doubtless, if authorities actually ruled such to be the construction of the words, instead of—as they do—vehemently and universally repudiating it, we should be the last persons to quarrel with such an application of them—for, in fact, it would amount to a complete recognition of our own practice, which makes the sacraments of confession and of the blessed eucharist of all but coincident necessity. For we can nowise understand how Dr. Pusey's teaching and practice, in this instance at least, falls short of our own. In what sense does he suppose that the Church makes confession "compulsory?" Does he understand the word as implying anything more than a *moral* compulsion? Does he think our priests drive people to

the sacred tribunal by main force? But if not, what is the great difference as to this matter of compulsoriness between on the one hand, removing the case of confession from being the rare exception of the Church (as the communion office supposes it), to becoming the general rule (which Dr. Pusey would desire it to be), and, on the other hand, enforcing it as the Catholic Church does, under the pain of mortal sin, as an occasional duty? What evil, we ask, comes of requiring a *moral* security that Christians prepare their conscience for holy communion at least once a year? And will Dr. Pusey consider whether it be not one and the same laxity of discipline in his own communion which refuses to make confession obligatory under pain of sin, and requires no kind of pledge for even an annual *communion*?

But at any rate we regard Dr. Pusey as acting most inconsistently with his own ecclesiastical principles in making so vast an innovation upon the actual practice in this matter as is implied in his own acknowledgments. What would a Catholic priest feel—except the dread of his final account—were he knowingly and for years to exercise spiritual powers, which, though of course radically inherent in his office, were tied up for want of a committed jurisdiction? How would he like to be continually playing a game of hide and seek with his ecclesiastical superiors, and presuming for the warrant of his own temerity, upon their cowardice and supineness? For this, we must after all think, is the *gravamen* of Dr. Pusey's offence against ecclesiastical discipline and propriety, not that he hears the confessions of all comers, but that he hears *any*, without authority expressly delegated to him by his bishop either in writing or by word of mouth. Dr. Pusey truly says that the liberty of choosing a confessor, *among those who are authorized to hear confessions*, (as in our own country at present), may be quite unrestricted without any violation of ecclesiastical principle or canonical right whatever; nay, it is of the very utmost importance to contend for such liberty. But then this liberty is actually and invariably bounded by the condition we have specified. The confessor must be an *approved* one. Dr. Pusey may call this limitation a matter of form, and plead that as the power of absolving is radically vested in every priest in virtue of his ordination, it is open to him to exercise it without explicit permission, though it were better if the state of the Church allowed her to insist on this condition.



But so thinks not the Catholic Church, in whose judgment an absolution pronounced by a priest unauthorized, is *ipso facto* null and void, except in *articulo mortis*, or in the case where the continuation of faculties which have actually ceased is colourably presumed, in which case the Church herself comes in to supply for the want of form, as far as the validity of the absolution goes, although the priest would commit mortal sin if he knowingly presumed upon the mistake of the people. And surely, as Dr. Pusey must admit, there is sound reason in such a law. For many an ecclesiastic is fit to be a *priest* who is not fit to be a *confessor*. Is a clear "vocation" to be quashed, is the inexpressible blessing and happiness of offering the adorable Sacrifice to be denied to a worthy candidate, or are the living and the dead to be defrauded of so many masses of infinite value to their souls as any one priest may offer in an ordinary lifetime, or even of one single mass the fruits of which they might otherwise enjoy, because such candidate is deaf, for instance, and so physically debarred from exercising a portion of his priestly office, or because he is constitutionally scrupulous, and so would be a torment to his penitents instead of a comfort, or because he is called to other duties (as a teacher, or a canon), or to a state of higher perfection (as a cloistered religious), and is thus in circumstances inconsistent with the laborious and uncertain duties of the confessional? Non omnia possumus omnes: the theological bias of some is in the line of dogmatic, of others in that of moral or ascetic theology, and the Church recognizes too well the principle involved in the division of labour to accumulate (except in case of urgent necessity) disparate, if not inconsistent, obligations upon the same head. Dr. Pusey is certainly required to meet this objection more distinctly than he has yet done; to show us by what law he gives absolution without authority expressly delegated to him by his bishop; by what rule he knows himself, of himself, to be equal to a part of the sacerdotal duties, which, throughout Christendom, is held to involve a peculiar qualification, and to require for its exercise a distinct commission. And again, if A. B. may *constitute himself* a director of consciences, what is to prevent C. D. from doing the same? Yet what a fearful havoc of souls must be the consequence of such a license becoming general! We own we can find no escape

for Dr. Pusey between the Scylla of individual presumption, and the Charybdis of universal anarchy.\*

To return, at parting, to the question of the *obligation* of sacramental confession. Dr. Pusey truly says elsewhere that it would be a grievous error so to understand the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration as to make light of a certain real *conversion* to God, which (not in all cases, but which) is mostly needed in baptized persons. But if so, how can the Church make too effectual provision for securing the reception of that remedial sacrament (as Dr. Pusey himself considers it) which is expressly ordained by our Lord *for the remission of post-baptismal sins*? Alas, with all her wise precautions, many and many are the souls still lost to the Church by neglect of that sacrament! But what would it be if no moral obligation to apply for it were even recognized? Let the annals of the Reformed Churches supply the answer.

Dr. Pusey seems to be under some strange misapprehension about the effects of what he calls "compulsory" confession. He says somewhere, if we mistake not, that it has to do with the minuteness of questioning in the confessional. But surely the matter comes to this: either auricular confession is a great gain, and a religious duty, or we have no right whatever to require it. But no gain can it be, rather a snare, except it be a full opening of the heart. And should not the confessor strive with a gentle and delicate skill, to overcome the natural repugnance to the confession of shameful sins? Dr. Pusey's view, if we do not much mistake, is that an imperfect confession is a gain, *pro tanto*, and that a priest should absolve upon it, rather than try to elicit the confession of suppressed sins. Of course no priest can absolve upon a confession which he has good reason to believe seriously defective; though, with well instructed penitents, he may certainly take the integrity of the confession for granted without much probing. But it is quite otherwise with such as are not so

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\* Dr. Pusey will say that some who now object to his practice of hearing confessions as an Anglican minister, did the same when they were such themselves. But it must be replied that this whole question of jurisdiction, which is the turning point, was strange to them till they became Catholics. We are sure they would not have wilfully violated a known law of the Universal Church.

instructed; and in every case the confessor himself must be the absolute judge of circumstances.

Dr. Pusey contends that Penance is a sacrament ordained by Christ Himself. But if so, must not its reception be binding on the conscience? And can an institution of our Divine Redeemer, designed for the remedy of sin, if binding *at all*, be otherwise than so binding *under grievous obligation*? Being a "sacrament of the dead," how can it be innocently neglected, or how can any humble person presume to dispense with it in his own case? Surely our Lord knows "what is in man."

Mr. Dodsworth's next point is that Dr. Pusey teaches a "propitiatory sacrifice" in the Blessed Eucharist. Dr. Pusey replies by admitting the fact in a sense. He repudiates the idea of a virtue in the Mass independent of our Lord's sacred Passion; (an opinion which no Catholic in the world maintains), and contends (so far with us) that the Holy Eucharist, in its character as a sacrifice, is not reiterative, but applicatory, of the sacrifice of the Cross. Thus, in fact, he admits all that Mr. Dodsworth asserts. In the course of his proof, he uses a great deal of inadequate, not to say heretical, language, and involves his argument in a mist of words through which we cannot discover whether or not he accepts simply the Catholic doctrine, that the sacrifice of the mass is identical with that of the Cross as to its substance and co-extensive with it as to its effects, although in form different from it; but that it is what it is, only in and through the Passion of Christ, of which it is at once the divinely instituted commemoration, representation, and continuous application.

We next come to the sacred dogma of our Blessed Lord's Presence in the Most Holy Eucharist, upon which the reader will hardly expect us to treat fully in the pages of a popular review. Here again Dr. Pusey seems to admit all which Mr. Dodsworth asserts, as to his teaching, but uses language, in explanation, against which a Catholic must take exception. And first, as to the mode of our Lord's Presence in the Most Holy Eucharist. Dr. Pusey has the authority of the Catechism of the Council of Trent for saying, as he does, that the Presence on the altar is not "*ut in loco*;" i. e., that it has not the accidents of figure, position, and the like circumstances of a local presence. It is on many altars, and in many of the sacred particles at once, yet not so circumscribed by the limits of place as

that its several manifestations should be together more than one Sacrament. It is otherwise with the Presence now in heaven. There our Divine Redeemer is in one place, so as not to be in another at the same time. And hence there is no real contrariety between the Presence in heaven and the Presence on the altar, as the Anglican Prayer-book feigns; because in heaven the Presence of our Lord in His incarnate though glorified Body is strictly local, delineated in figure and confined to position; on the altar it is super-local, or, in ordinary language, sacramental. So far, then, we have no difference with Dr. Pusey. But we must demur to his disclaimer of a "*local adoration*." (p. 76.) Surely he will admit that our Blessed Lord, though super-locally and sacramentally, is still really, present in the Most Blessed Sacrament as He is not present out of it, on the altar where It reposes; and in so far as this His presence on the altar is at once bounded by the limits of the sacramental species (to speak inadequately) and yet perfectly realized in them, it is they *which define to our eyes* the Object of our adoration and love. Otherwise, it is not a real Presence in the Sacrament at all which we adore, but an idea in our own minds suggested by It, which is to reduce that Sacrament to the level of a mere memento, or representation. And this, we verily believe, is the alternative upon which those are practically thrown, who reject the Catholic dogma. Dr. Pusey has, like most writers of his communion, secured the *negative* side of his doctrine, but been more negligent about the less easy task of defining the positive. Hence such language as the following (and it is a specimen of much more of the same class) is at the same time unassailable, and yet unsatisfactory.

"I thought of the adoration of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist, *not as confined or contained in place, much less so as to involve any worship of the consecrated elements, &c.* But believing Him to be Present, I believed with the ancient Church He was to be adored as Present."—p. 76.

"Present," truly, but where, and how? "In the adorable Sacrament," Dr. P. will reply. But if so present, we ask whether present, conjointly with the natural substances, (which is the Lutheran consubstantiation), or as if *incarnate* in them, as our Blessed Lord was present on earth in His human Body, (which is properly the con-

demned doctrine of *Impanation*, and which, it will be observed, is open to the objection, among others, of supposing an unmysterious *local* Presence,) or in the mind of the worshipper, (which is to make the Blessed Sacrament a mere *sign*,) or, if in none of these ways, *how*, except super-locally, sacramentally, but substantially, and therefore, really, in the adorable Sacrament, superseding the proper substance of the natural elements by That of His Own Most Precious Body and Blood? Dr. Pusey will again interpose, that this were "to explain the mode." No, to *define*, but not *explain* it. The latter belongs to the science of angels, which could only be imparted to men by an express and special revelation; the former is the proper office of Theology, if Theology is to be anything but a kind of loose literature. What is it but "definition of mode" which forms the impalpable barrier between orthodoxy and heresy? What, we ask Dr. Pusey, is the Athanasian Symbol itself, but a series of such definitions, applied to a subject, certainly not less external to the ordinary province of human research than the holy doctrine of which we are here immediately speaking? When Dr. Pusey deprecates this introduction of philosophical language into the department of religion, or at any rate ignores it, he should bear in mind what an advantage he is giving to the Sabellians and other heretics, who upon the very same principle, and with the same specious, because apparently humble, defence of shrinking from what is above them, dispose of the technical terms by which the Church has secured the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity against the last refinement of heretical subtlety.

We have again to observe the inadequacy of Dr. Pusey's language. Thus:

"I have retained the words 'under the form,' &c.....I have meant them in the same sense in which the Homilies use them ..... I have never taught anything *physical*, corporal, carnal; but spiritual, sacramental, Divine, ineffable."—p. 69.

This (we must be excused from saying it) is rhetorical, not precise. Dr. Pusey would make it appear that "physical" is the same with "corporal" and "carnal," or that, at any rate, all these epithets go to express one idea, and that idea opposed to spiritual, sacramental, divine, and ineffable. But this is simply to assume the very point in controversy. The word *φύσις* may mean with reference to

this subject either the natural *substance*, or (as Dr. Pusey has it put afterwards) the natural *properties*. In the former sense it is used to express That which is changed by the words of consecration. In the latter, it expresses what we term accidents, i. e., not merely all that is cognizable by the senses, but all those qualities which produce the natural results of sustenance, exhilaration, &c. Dr. Pusey, not, we are persuaded, purposely, but by a habit of mind engendered by his position, uses the word equivocally, and thus, to adopt a common phrase, "throws dust in the eyes" of the public, or of a bishop, not wishing to be too keen-sighted. A little later he has the words "a popular *physical* interpretation." (p. 70.) But if he means thereby that the Catholic Church broadly repudiates the word "physical," as applied to the change in consecration, he is certainly mistaken. As to a sense of the word in which she would repudiate it, we can only say that we know of no persons in the present day, who hold or incline to hold that the natural properties (or accidents) are changed. We doubt if such ever did exist, except in the imagination of the Reformers. In fine, Dr. Pusey says:

"It appears that our article condemns Transubstantiation as implying a physical change."—p. 70.

This might pass, but for the explanation.

"This" (conclusion) "appears from the words 'is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture,' in that it entitles the consecrated element, '*bread*,' 'overthroweth the nature of a sacrament,' in that a sacrament is a 'sign of a sacred thing;' and in this view the sign would be the Thing itself."—p. 70.

These words, we are sorry to say, must operate to the prejudice of Dr. Pusey in one quarter, in which he wishes to stand well, as much as they will benefit him in another. They separate him from us, just in proportion as they secure his footing in the Church of England.

For, 1. It is true that Holy Scripture calls the Blessed Sacrament after consecration "*Bread*," and so does the Church, "*Panem cœlestem accipiam, &c.*" But there is a sense in which our Lord says of Himself, "*Ego sum Panis qui de cœlo descendit.*" The Anglican Article must mean, and Dr. Pusey with it, that the natural bread remains after consecration *in its own substance*, which is quite a



different doctrine ; and we will add "repugnant to words of Scripture," much "plainer" than any in which the "bread" is said to remain after consecration ; we mean the sacred words of consecration themselves, "*Hoc est, &c.*" Nothing but the Catholic doctrine is adequate to these words. A Presence there may indeed be, (if such a degrading conception can be tolerated,) in conjunction with the created matter, (which is Consubstantiation,) a Presence *incorporated* in the natural substance, (which is Impanation) a Presence (not real but ideal) in the mind of the worshipper, suggested by the natural substance, which is the common Protestant figment ; but in none of these cases such a Presence as comes up to the divine words, *Hoc est*. Let these words be pondered, *each by itself*, and it may be seen how, alone of all actual interpretations, the definition of the Church comprises their power.

2. As to the objection of the Anglican Article expressed in the words "overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament," it proceeds on the old misrepresentation. If our Divine Redeemer were said to be present on the altar, in all respects *as* He is present in Heaven, or if the *accidents* of the natural substance were annihilated and vanished away as well as that substance, so that our Lord were to be present, not *under* the form, but *instead of it*, then indeed it would be true that such doctrine "overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament." But Dr. Pusey himself ought to see that such words as applied to any statement of Transubstantiation allowed by the Catholic Church, are altogether inappropriate.\*

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\* A comparison between the Missal and the Anglican Communion office is enough to show upon what view the alterations were made by the Reformers. It is a very different thing, *excluding* testimonies to doctrine, and not recognizing them ; and the course of the Reformers bears incontrovertible proofs of heresy *preparata*. Every Rubric in the Missal which guards the adorable Sacrament from profanation, (even unintentional,) is found in the "adapted" office to be carefully expunged. In the Prayer Book there is, for instance, no provision whatever against the loss of the precious particles, a subject on which the Catholic Church requires her priests to be careful, almost to sempulosity. In such ways it is that our Holy Mother manifests her tender care of her Divine Lord ; and reciprocates His love in resigning Himself into her custody. But

Mr. Dodsworth's next point is, "the introduction of Roman Catholic books adapted to the use of the (Anglican) Church."

Dr. Pusey has to defend himself against this charge before his bishop, and this we are bound to say that he has done with entire success. The fear, indeed, which Protestants have, lest our standard works of devotion should obtain circulation in their body, is one of those remarkable testimonies, which they so often unconsciously bear to the mysterious power of our holy religion. It is parallel to a caution lately addressed by a bishop to his clergy, against listening to lectures in our churches, and to a memorable admission once made by Dr. Pusey himself, that, when he heard Catholics were praying for the conversion of his friend, he felt a painful presage of the result.\*

Our Holy Mother is most winning, most subduing, in her every look and gesture—strangers know it, and they fear to trust themselves within the circle of her holy spell. It must be admitted, however, that Dr. Pusey is far removed from this narrow and suspicious policy. If he forbids a disciple to hear a Catholic lecture, or to read a Catholic book of controversy, it is, we are sure, upon the same principle on which we should forbid a child or a penitent to meddle with Protestant controversy; though it must be remembered that *we* start with considering Protestantism a deadly heresy, he, with considering Rome "a sister Church." And on this right principle (inconsistently applied, however,) we suppose it is that he refuses his dis-

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how is it possible that a Church which makes no express law against the Body and Blood of God Incarnate being sacrilegiously handled, or contemptuously wasted, can hold that precious gift to be really in her keeping? Facts are well-known relative to the treatment of the bread and wine after "consecration" even by clergymen themselves, which must make a reverent mind rejoice to think that our Lord is *not* present there! One of our Priests, (from whom we heard the story,) was once moved to remonstrate with an Anglican clergyman, whom he met in a hospital, upon seeing him throw away, into the first vessel which presented itself to his eyes, the remnants of what he had given to the sick. And these indecencies, (for such on any view they must be regarded, are of constant occurrence.

\* Letter in the *English Churchman* of Oct. 1845, on Mr. Newman's conversion.

ciples the uncontrolled use of Catholic devotions. Having said, then, that Dr. Pusey is quite clear from reproach as against Anglicans and Dissenters, who have always circulated our books of piety among their followers without suspicion of "popery," we wish we could regard him as equally clear, upon ecclesiastical principles. Personally, of course, we have every wish that Dr. Pusey should continue his practice of translating and circulating our devotional books, in any form. No one method, we are sure, has been so successful in making converts to our religion, and converts of the right stamp. For one whom our books of controversy have brought round, twenty at least have yielded to the power of our devotions. For their very type and structure (which omissions do not alter) cannot fail to prove a successful rival in the heart to all other forms of prayer, whether public or private. And it is moreover certain, that many a parent will allow Dr. Pusey's *adapted* devotions to remain in the hands of his children, who would refuse them the use of an unmitigatedly "popish" manual.

But we must not suffer any views of expediency to blind us to the fact, that Dr. Pusey's course, in respect of the publication of these adapted books, is, upon every principle of the Church, to say nothing of human society, utterly indefensible. We agree entirely with Mr. Dodsworth, that it is an act of rank Protestantism, not untinged, we must reluctantly add, with a certain hue of profaneness. Dr. Pusey justifies himself by the precedent of the Anglican Prayer Book, which is an "adaptation" from the Breviary. We certainly are not called upon to defend the Reformers in their sacrilegious tamperings with our holy Office Books; but, any how, the Reformers acted in the name of their Church, delegated to their office, and responsible for its execution; whereas Dr. Pusey is acting but as an individual upon his own responsibility, and even against the judgment of his authorities. He knows that the works which he mutilates have received, as they stand, the *imprimatur* of the Holy See, and that their writers are now, we may believe, in heaven. Who are we that we should deal thus freely with the words of the Saints, and make them speak, without their leave, in faltering and equivocal, if not even heretical, accents? What right have we to use, in respect of God's blessed Saints and holiest servants, a liberty which com-

mon propriety forbids us to take with the writings of any absent, and still more, any deceased author? But Dr. Pusey, it would seem, is for introducing Anglicanism into the court of Heaven itself. He says,

"As to the authors themselves, surely we may think *that in Paradise they must be glad that their writings, under any condition short of the denial of the truth, should do good to the souls for whom, with them, Christ died. They know not, in their rest and love there, the distractions and hard judgments in the Church here below. Nor, if they here lived in a system partly unsanctioned by holy Scripture and by the Primitive Church, need we think that, holy as they were, the sight of God has not purged away some errors which clave to them here ?*"\*

The "sight of God" purges no one from errors; for none can enjoy it till wholly purged. But let this pass. What is it to set up private judgment against God's Church, if this be not that bold attempt? For Dr. Pusey's words, done into homely English, come to what follows. "The Saints know now that the whole Roman Church has made unauthorised additions to the teaching of the three first centuries. They have learned, though late, to take my view of 'St. Mary,'† and the other subjects about which they were, when on earth, 'in error.'" "They no longer think us heretics, as they did, and must be sorry to have expressed themselves in their devotions so as to prejudice the cause of Anglicanism, and to delay the 're-union of Christendom' upon the terms of mutual concession. Far, then, from doing them an injury, I am even conferring on them a benefit, by remodelling their works upon the principles of the early centuries. Not only are they patient of such corrections, they even rejoice in them."

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\* Preface to Avrillon quoted in Letter, p. 105.

† We take this opportunity of expressing, once for all, our cordial dislike of this mode of designating the Blessed Mother of God. It is true that our Lady is a Saint, but she is so much more than the greatest of the Saints, and than all the Saints together, that there is something to our ears unspeakably cold and repulsive in giving her, as her characteristic appellation, a title which she shares with St. Mary of Egypt, and other *servants* of her Divine Son. It is true that some excellent Catholics had contracted the habit of so designating our Blessed Lady, but, thanks to those who have lately

We next come to "Rosaries and Crucifixes." Both of these aids to devotion Dr. Pusey appears to have allowed under certain limitations, such as that Aves were not to be said on the first, and that the second were not to be "worshipped." In one part of the adapted "Paradise" it appears that the use of the actual Rosary is even provided for; certain prayers being appointed to be said on the "large bead," and certain others on the lesser. We suspect that Dr. Pusey will never succeed in convincing the public that Rosaries are not "Popish," whatever be the devotions which they are employed to assist. We have little to say under this head, except to rejoice that Rosaries and Crucifixes are getting abroad, through whatever channel. We are sorry to find Dr. Pusey apparently giving in to the silly objection founded on the unequal distribution of Paters and Aves in the Rosary. If persons attach importance to numbers either way, we have quite as much ground for saying that the practice of the Rosary proves one Pater to be equal to ten Aves, as the Protestants, to conclude that because we repeat the "Our Father" once, and the Angelic Salutation ten times, we love the Mother ten times as much as the Son. People forget too, that the "Ave" is the memorial of the *Incarnation*.

The latter portion of Dr. Pusey's "Letter to the Bishop of London," supplies us with no particular occasion of comment. We observe in it an obvious desire of assimilation to ourselves, which would elicit our sympathy, did we not feel it to be grounded upon a complete misconception

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drawn the attention of the English Catholic Church to such subjects, the practice is now nearly confined to the ranks of heresy. "Holy Mary" is the proper (because the untechnical) rendering of the ecclesiastical "Sancta Maria;" but the titles in use amongst our selves are such as either indicate the incomparable dignity of that Blessed one, such as "the Mother of God," or such as intimate her relation to us, "Our Lady," "Our holy Mother," &c., or, again, such as sum up without other title, the powers and associations of her holy name "Mary." But the Anglican "St. Mary," is neither duly reverential, nor strictly theological, nor simply affectionate, nor powerfully expressive; it merely sounds like the respectful notice of one with whom we wish to be on distant terms. Of course, in all this, we are not so much criticizing Dr. Pusey, to whom our remarks will probably be new, but founding upon his language a general observation.

tion of the spirit and character of our holy Faith. It is to such a misconception that we must attribute the comparison which Dr. Pusey institutes between our devotion and those which are in use among the better class of Evangelicals. Whatever similarity in language there may be between the ordinary Catholic, and the more spirited Protestant devotions, there must ever be a difference so wide as to be absolutely irreconcilable, between the foundations upon which these expressions of feeling are respectively based. We hold it to be simply impossible that any one but a Catholic can approach, for instance, the subject of the adorable Passion, with the requisite qualification for indulging his devotion upon it. The doctrine of the Incarnation must be, not merely (as the phrase is) "held;" it must be *worked into* the mind by habitually acting upon it; and this, out of the Catholic Church is impossible without a miracle. It is no blame to a person that he cannot effect without circumstances, what another naturally effects with their aid. "He speaks to me that never had a child," says the poet of nature. Whatever approximation Dr. Pusey may make to Catholic doctrine, can he, we ask, perform the particular act called *hearing Mass* every day of his life? He would be the last person to answer such a question in the affirmative; he has his system, and we have our religion, and he is satisfied without even, (as some foolish people about him do,) *affecting* what is no part of his system. But then, it may be, that the Sacrifice of the Mass, not held as a doctrine merely, or insinuated under an equivocal phrase in the Communion Office, but openly taught and habitually acted on, is the appointed condition of making the Incarnation of our Lord a matter of *practical belief*. And if so, in the devotional expressions which are the result of this belief, there may be an external and superficial correspondence with such as are not, and yet between the two a real difference, as great as that between mere eloquence or mere sentiment, and what we understand by the term, devotion. This is a great subject, which none but a Catholic can appreciate, but which they especially are said to understand, by joyful, but yet incommunicable, experience, who have passed from Protestantism and Anglicanism into the Catholic Church. To convince opponents of this difference, is as hard as to teach the blind the idea of colour; but it ought not to be



so hard for a candid and intelligent person out of the Catholic Church, to understand that there may be something in this argument; and if there be, that this something must be the turning point of the question.

We have spoken of this experimental knowledge of Catholic doctrine as necessary towards deepening and (if we may so speak) consolidating, devotional feeling. But surely it is not less necessary towards *adjusting* the claims of different objects of devotional affection. This is especially true of that with which we are most commonly reproached,—the *cultus* of our blessed Lady. We really do not see how the expressions which are in use among us can ever be made to appear defensible in the eyes of a Protestant or an Anglican, without putting *our* eyes into *their* heads; for our own part, we have long since abandoned the attempt as hopeless. These expressions are the language of love, and the language of love was never meant to be taken to pieces, and made the subject of cold, dry criticism by those who do not love. How easy would it be to convict a mother's rapturous words of theological inexactitude, as well as utter absurdity, if any one had the heart to enter on such an undertaking! A very unwelcome counsellor, we trow, would he be, who should undertake to prescribe to a parent, the measure of her expressions in her intercourse with a dear and only child; who should be continually at her ear with his officious "Beware of idolatry." The mother would answer (of course we suppose her a Christian mother) that she knew herself better than her monitor can do, and, therefore, knows how far she can safely go; and this, not according to the rules of system, but in obedience to the dictates of nature. One *kind* of affection is not converted into a distinct kind by being carried to the highest extent of which it admits: and thus in charging the language of love with excess, you make no approach whatever towards proving it to be divine worship.\* But then we admit that unless a person *energizes* in this higher kind of affection, the habitual use of such expressions will

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\* Of course, we do not mean the case of a mother and child as parallel in all respects to that of Our Lady's clients and herself, but only as an illustration, falling within the experience of the objectors. The love of Catholics towards the Blessed Mother of God is infinitely purer than even the purest human affection, and

tend to supersede it in his mind. And thus it is that the objections which Anglicans bring to our language about our Blessed Lady appear to us to be at the same time most absurd and quite beyond the reach of mere controversy, because the true answer to them is one of those matters of experience which are not only hard, but impossible, to establish by argument. And hence, when we are met by the objections which Dr. Pusey courteously, and the Exeter Hall orators rudely, make against our practice, that it is idolatrous, at least in tendency, we always feel two things; the first, that the proper idea of *worship* is really foreign to the mind of the objector; the second, that, such being the case, the objection, far from provoking us to anger, is entitled to a most forbearing treatment at our hands. For, in fact, objections to our practice made under the circumstance of the particular defect in question, are not merely reasonable; they are even solid. Dr. Pusey cannot go beyond ourselves in feeling that, on the lips of one of his disciples, our ordinary language towards our Blessed Lady would savour of idolatry. The true key to its interpretation is to be found in the doctrine and practice of the Eucharistic Sacrifice; concerning which we deem it neither presumption nor discourtesy to our Anglican opponents to say, that they lack as yet the very rudimental idea, and this solely because they know not as a Catholic knows, the power of the Holy Mass. Let them produce an expression from our writers which trenches upon the honour to our Incarnate Lord and to the Blessed Trinity which is involved in the *Mass*, (i. e., their appropriate and characteristic honour), and then, but not till then, they will have a right to expect an intelligible answer.

The same considerations apply to a subject which enters materially into Dr. Pusey's argument, the Worship of Images. It is to us, as it is to Mr. Dodsworth, a matter of astonishment how one who could pen the following sentence,

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has within it that sort of running relation, (as we may call it,) to God and Heaven, which is a bar to any interference with the claims of the Creator. Maternal love on earth (there is no doubt,) involves a very serious "peril of idolatry." All we say is, that mere expressions prove nothing any way; whereas, it is upon these only that Protestants build their objection to the "*cultus*" of Our Lady.

"Who has not seen one kiss a picture of one loved, but absent," &c.—p. 147.

could, in the same breath, appeal to such an authority as *Dr. Arnold*, for a justification of his devotion to the Crucifix. *Dr. Arnold* had many good, and some great points; but he was characterized by denying that particular idea of christianity which *Dr. Pusey* is characterized by upholding; and the utmost to which his argument in favour of crucifixes amounts is this:—that the making of them does not militate against one of the Ten Commandments. *Dr. Pusey* needed not, one would have thought, have resorted to the judgment of a conspicuous heretic to prove as much as this; and if he means the argument as merely one *ad hominem*, certainly he pays *Dr. Blomfield* a poor compliment in advancing such a plea at his tribunal. But the point which *Dr. Pusey* has to show is, wherein those ardent acts of devotion towards the Crucifix which he justifies by the instance of the picture, differ from those which are in use among Catholics. Such actions as he describes are certainly inconsistent with treating a crucifix or other image as a mere memento. They amount, in fact, to all which we claim in asserting that the same honour is due to the representation as is due to the Original; not, however, for its own sake, but for the sake of that Original. This is certainly the approved doctrine of our greatest theologians; and we heartily wish it were acted upon by all Catholics just in the spirit of *Dr. Pusey's* defence. When *Dr. Pusey* justifies a Christian woman putting herself into the situation of *St. Mary Magdalene*, and kissing, and, if so be, bathing with penitential tears, the feet of a crucifix, he really contends for treating the representation as the Original, which is the precise teaching of *St. Thomas*. In fact, no other view is reasonable, because none other is *natural* to a devout mind. But words of endearment or acts of homage addressed to a crucifix, are expressions of *worship*, or they are nothing; were the idea of divine worship to be studiously and habitually separated from them, they would be far worse than vain; for how could such a process be otherwise than fatal in time, to the sort of feeling which we should entertain towards our Lord Himself? It is through the senses that such feelings are either deepened or dissipated. But after all, such an apprehension is purely hypothetical; for they who have devotion enough to kiss a crucifix, will certainly

not have cool calculation enough to prevent themselves from worshipping it. Nor need they be constantly reminded that this worship is *relative* only, (as of course it is), for the idea that it is absolute and final (though divines find it necessary to suppose such a heresy in order to protest against it), is far too monstrous to be dangerous. We are by no means insensible to the peril in which many Catholics stand of *superstition*; but neither our experience nor our inquiries have ever resulted in the impression that idolatry is a practical danger among us. As respects the veneration of Images and Relics, neither of the *criteria* upon which Protestants rest are worth even so much as discussing; we mean, on the one hand, devotional *phrases*, and on the other, devotional *gestures*. For as to the former, the *clue* to such phrases is (as we have already shown) in the experimental belief of Catholics; and, as to the latter, they are surely to be interpreted by the intention of the mind which they express, (on the one hand), and, (on the other), by the claims of the Object to which they are *implicitly* directed.

While our sheets are passing through the press, various occurrences prove that Dr. Pusey is still anxious to right himself with the public. The skirmish with Mr. Dodsworth has been prolonged by the interchange of one or two "passes," which come, however, too late in the current month for a distinct notice in our pages; and while we write these lines, Dr. Pusey is in possession of the field with a letter in the *Guardian* newspaper of March 19th, in which he so far deviates from his expressed intention of maintaining a strict reserve about his sisterhood, as to state circumstances relative to the admission of some of its members. The discussion of such matters in the pages of a newspaper has to our eyes, an undignified appearance, but every allowance should be made for a position so very anomalous as that which Dr. Pusey occupies. We suppose Mr. Dodsworth will hardly feel it worth while to prolong the dispute, which, as it now turns upon the memory of facts not probably noted at the time in anticipation of their being ever called in question, is not likely to be brought to a speedy or satisfactory issue.

Meanwhile, a new opponent to Dr. Pusey has started up from the ranks of his own church, and his own section of it; and one, we must add, far less measured in his tone of reproach, than Mr. Dodsworth, who is a Catholic.

The Rev. William Palmer, one of the original Tract-writers, has published (in the newspapers again) a letter to the Bishop of London, in which he indignantly disclaims sympathy with Dr. Pusey's course, and objects to the use which Dr. Pusey has made of his name and his theological statements. Dr. Pusey replies, through the same channel, that he did not mean to claim Mr. Palmer as an ally, and so the matter ends for the present. All this time the Bishop of London, who both of right and by invitation is the umpire of the whole question, holds himself aloof, quiescent, but far from easy. And the Catholic Church holds herself aloof also, awaiting the end, and too secure in her strength to be solicitous about it. One by one the more thoughtful and conscientious members of the Anglican communion will drop off from it, or rather be left by it, and then they will be taken home, like the foundlings who strew the banks of the Chinese rivers, by a mother who seeks not strangers, till they begin to cry to her for help, but who is ever at hand to fulfil her Lord's mission to the spiritual as well as the natural orphan, and who can make up to her children a hundredfold for all, and more than all, that they can ever lose in finding her.

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ART. VII.—1. *The Address of the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland to their beloved flocks.* Dublin: Duffy.

2. *Is the Papal Supremacy recognized by the Law of England? or is the Papal Hierarchy Legal?* By a Member of the Middle Temple. London: Richardson, 1851.

IT is not improbable, that before this paper meets the reader's eye, the last remains of the anti-hierarchical agitation will have died away. The legislature will either have passed a measure, which will render remonstrance vain, or will have refused to make any new enactment, which will make any explanation superfluous. It is more, therefore, by way of placing documents on record, than as wishing to aid deliberation, that we venture now, we trust for the last time, to put forward our sentiments on the question which still occupies the public mind.

The following remarks were indeed strung together at an earlier stage of the controversy: but events have run faster than debates, and the changes of years have been condensed into the space of a few weeks. Nor can the most sagacious of us conjecture what is in the morrow's womb.

Among the many writings, to which the establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy in England has given rise, a pamphlet by Lord St. Germans\* is perhaps the most distinguished, for straightforward, dispassionate, and simple argument. As coming from a nobleman of high character, and not a Catholic, it justly produced a very beneficial effect. We happened to be mentioning, to a friend, the existence of documents to prove the views of Mr. Pitt's ministry on the present subject of controversy, collected by the late Sir John Cox Hippisley, when he gave us the pamphlet, not yet published, to peruse; observing that the subject was there alluded to.

On reading this excellent tract, it occurred to us, that it merited further attention, for a twofold purpose. The first is to strengthen some of his Lordship's statements by further evidence: the second to explain what he appears to have unintentionally misunderstood. At this moment, particularly, when we may trust, that the hour of clamour is past, and the time for reasoning is come, it seems important to collect whatever may serve as materials for arriving at just conclusions.

By this means also, we shall be able to explain, more fully, some important points touched upon in Cardinal Wiseman's "Appeal," called most unwarrantably in the papers a "Manifesto." That paper was written while His Eminence was at St. George's Church, not only without the command of books, but without access to memorandums or other documents; and we shall now be enabled to avail ourselves of this opportunity, to develop, or modify, one or two statements there made.

I. We will begin with the earlier history of the Hierarchy.

It is admitted, by all our ecclesiastical historians,

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\* "Reasons for not signing an Address to Her Majesty, on the subject of the so-called Papal Aggression." Second Edition. Ridgway.



that the appointment of Vicars Apostolic in England was only a temporary measure, and that it did not meet with the general approbation of the clergy. Dodd may be considered as representing, or giving expression to, the feelings of the discontented party. He maintains, incorrectly, that the first bishop, (Dr. Bishop) who was sent over by the Holy See, after an interruption of succession of many years, came with more extensive and independent powers than his successor, Dr. Smith. But this mistake, which Mr. Tierney has exposed,\* leads him to express his views respecting the appointment of "an Ordinary" for England, with the title of Chalcedon. He does so in the following words.

"The discipline of the Church required that no Bishop should be consecrated without a title; and it being not safe to consecrate a bishop to any of the sees in England, for fear of exasperating the government, and raising a persecution, it was judged most proper to ordain a bishop titular of some vacant see among the infidels, and then assign him his power and jurisdiction in England ... though there were ancient sees enough in the nation; as Hexham in Northumberland, afterwards removed to York; and Lindisfarne, removed to Durham; and Dorchester in Oxfordshire, removed to Lincoln; with many others in several counties, to which a bishop might have been consecrated as safely, and with as little offence to the government, as to Chalcedon;† because they were as little known, or mentioned, or even thought of. But this was either not reflected on, or disregarded."‡

In this remarkable passage, we find one of the most learned of the Catholic priesthood of England, above a hundred years ago, making these statements: 1. That the only ground for not consecrating or appointing a bishop to a see, occupied by an Anglican bishop in 1623, was fear of persecution. 2. That this would have been

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\* "Dodd's Church History of England." By the Rev. M. Tierney, vol. iv. p. cclxxiii. *note*, and cclxxx. *note*.

† When the re-establishment of the hierarchy was entertained in the last pontificate, it was proposed (among others by Cardinal Acton) to take all the new titles from ancient, but now suppressed, sees. This would have been a plausible, but inconvenient, arrangement.

‡ *Ibid*, *text*.

avoided, and no offence given to the government, even in those days, by a Catholic bishop being appointed with the title of an English see, if not actually occupied by a Protestant. And, as if to make the observation more striking, he selects, by way of illustration, one of the very sees now chosen. 3. He regrets that this course was not adopted from the beginning, instead of the provisional arrangement by vicars apostolic.

If such was the reasoning of one who himself knew the full rigour of the penal laws, concerning a period not beyond the reach of immediate traditions, when "exasperating the government" signified calling forth arbitrary and irresponsible proclamations, and "raising a persecution" meant renewing confiscations, banishment, imprisonment, and death, one cannot be surprised that the Catholics, restored to equal rights with their fellow subjects, and freed from fear of legal murder, and, it is to be hoped, of capricious legislation, should have thought the time at length come, for obtaining that ecclesiastical government, which their fathers, amidst their groans and perils, considered to be their due.

After the death of the second Vicar Apostolic, Dr. Smith, who passed the latter years of his life in banishment, there was another break in the succession, which lasted thirty years. He died in 1658. Under James II. Dr. Leyburn was first appointed Vicar Apostolic of all England; and then shared the administration with Dr. Giffard. Two more were added to their number, and thus was completed that "territorial" distribution of England into four vicariates, which continued till 1840. Here was a second and original reorganisation of the ecclesiastical government of Catholics. It must be observed, however, that even a persecuting government had been too wise not to permit the exercise of jurisdiction by the holy see, over Catholics in the realm.\* In this interval, more than one ecclesiastical agent from Rome had come over to restore peace among contending parties, and confer with the ministers of state respecting the condition of Catholic affairs. And one of the great demands of the clergy was ever for a bishop.† What

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\* They were then calculated at 150,000, with a thousand priests to minister to their spiritual wants.

† We have before us a copy of a MS. in the Library of

followed, however, on this second nomination of vicars apostolic, we will relate in the words of an author, whose sentiments on the subject of the hierarchy have been lately gathered, apparently from some hand-writing on the walls, or some lingering echoes in the corners, of the chambers which he occupied, by his successor in tenancy, if not in lore. For we have not much evidence in Mr. Purton Cooper's late lucubrations on the subject, that Mr. Charles Butler left his legal cloak behind him in his tenement.

"The appointment of vicars apostolic was not, in the first instance, acceptable to the general body of the secular clergy. They presented to James II., a memorial against the appointment of Dr. Leyburn. Having been desired by His Majesty to state the difference between a bishop in ordinary and a vicar-apostolic, they stated in their memorial, that 'by a bishop, who is an Ordinary, is meant one who hath power, of his own, or in himself, to govern the flock over which he is set; and while he acts accordingly, he is not responsible to any, or revocable at pleasure.'" Then follows more at length the description of a vicar apostolic, after which Mr. Butler adds:

"Such were the sentiments of the secular clergy. But after the appointment of vicars apostolic was made, they acquiesced in it."\*

Again, therefore, we have evidence of the anxious desire of the Catholic clergy to have, in England, the regular hierarchical government of the Church. It is certainly no new idea on their part.

During the earlier part of the following century, there occurred no opportunity of giving expression to their feelings on this subject. The system was established, and the millstone of a heavy, though now less sanguinary, persecution, still hung around their necks. As late as 1769, a vicar apostolic, the Hon. James Talbot, was tried for his life at the Old Bailey, for saying Mass. Still the the expressions of Dodd, above quoted, betray

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Vienna, (No. 6547. fol.) of the reign of James I., (1611,) written by an Englishman to be laid before the Pope. The fourth chapter forms the bulk of the work, and is entitled: "*De remediis malorum, et de Episcoporum in Anglia necessitate.*"

\* "*Historical Memoirs.*" 2nd Ed., vol. ii., p. 285.

the habitual feelings of the body. Towards the close of the century, the relaxation of the penal laws commenced, and attention began to be paid, both by themselves and by government, to the ecclesiastical position of Irish and English Catholics.

Indeed, we come now to what must be a painful topic to all Catholics; but one which may serve to correct erroneous notions lately put forth, on the subject of our hierarchy. For it is singular that opposition to this form of government should now be considered a badge of Cisalpine opinions, as they are called; and the recent existence of a "Cisalpine Club" has been alluded to, as a proof that the principles on which the hierarchy is based were not held by leading Catholics. The contrary, however, is the case.

In 1783 a "Catholic committee" was formed for "managing the public affairs of the Catholics of this kingdom." The first document which issued from it, was dated May 24, of that year. It consists, in part, of an attack on government by vicars apostolic: and the committee offers its assistance "to aid and support in taking such measures as may be effectual to constitute them with full power of ordinaries: in order that the frequent recurrence to Rome for dispensations, and other ecclesiastical matters, might cease." In 1787, the same committee put forth another declaration, complaining that "they are governed, not by diocesan bishops, but by superiors, commissioned by Rome." They further complain that this form of government "is in direct opposition to the statute of *Præmunire* and *Provisors*:" and go on to say: "when you reflect that it is the duty of christians to make the discipline of their church to conform as near as may be to the laws of their country, *your committee doubt not but you will concur with them in thinking, that it is incumbent on us to use our endeavours, to procure the nomination of bishops in ordinary.*"\*

This committee, having its duration for five years from the last date, met on the 13th of April, 1792, and formed themselves into a club, under the name of the "Cisalpine Club." The avowed purpose of the association was, to get rid of the vicarial government, and

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\* Milner's Supplementary Memoirs, pp. 47, 49, 99.

substitute ordinary bishops. It is true that the principles on which it advocated the change were erroneous, and untenable, and therefore were warmly combated by Milner and others;\* but the fact is certain, that the now quoted Cisalpine Club avowed hostility to vicars apostolic; so that reference to it, as opposed to a hierarchy, is peculiarly unhappy.

At the same time it would be most unjust to consider that Club during the present generation, as any representative of a peculiar body of politico-theological opinions. The course of the French Revolution opened the eyes of many, and a higher interest in the cause of religion concurred to make the great body of our Catholic laity, noble or not, what it is the pride of our church to see them, sound Catholics without party divisions, zealous promoters of the education and happiness of the poor, practical examples of virtue, and faithful children of their Church. Nothing is more consoling, or more edifying, than the harmonious co-operation between clergy and laity, which, for years, has distinguished our body. Our poor-school system is the best proof of this.

So far, as to Catholics themselves. Now let us consider the views of government.

Whoever studies the history of Catholic emancipation will perceive how much the efforts of its zealous partizans were clogged, by the necessity of humouring the demand for securities. The entire *Veto* controversy turns upon that: and we find men like Sir John Cox Hoppisley, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Grattan, proposing

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\* It is not necessary to refer more specially to this controversy; but it is clear that even Bishop Milner considered the government by vicars only temporary, and expedient under circumstances, which, thank God, have now ceased. "There is no question in our circumstances about the filling up of episcopal sees, or the appointment of ordinary bishops; because we are in extraordinary circumstances. We are no national church, we are only a handful of Catholics.....We have lost our hierarchy, and should have been equally deprived of our ministry but for the bounty, no less than the paternal solicitude of the successors of St. Peter. We, the clergy of this kingdom, are not a stationary clergy, but are, to a man of us, missionaries ordained in foreign countries,.....after having been educated, at least the greater part of us, at the expense of His Holiness."—A Clergyman's answer to a Layman's letter, p. 15.

conditions and pledges of a cumbersome nature, in conjunction with measures of relief; pledges which they themselves considered quite unnecessary.\* Even when the Catholic Relief Bill was passed, it was admitted by the Duke of Wellington, that concessions were made to the feelings of the Establishment, which, in truth, would give it no security.

No unauthorised person ever took more interest, or was more active in our affairs than the Baronet just named. At Rome, in Ireland, and in England, he kept up an active correspondence; and he became a self-constituted negotiator between the different parties interested in Catholic emancipation, at home and abroad. The information which he thus collected became valuable; and at length, after much correspondence with Lord Castlereagh, secretary for Ireland, the Duke of Portland, on the 25th of Nov., 1799, expressed a wish to have a summary made out, by a confidential person, of all that had passed between the representatives of such various interests. Sir John compiled it himself, and had it printed, without a title, in a thin 4to. volume.† The copy before us is headed, in his own hand, "*Private*, For Sir Arthur Pigott, &c., &c., with Sir J. C. Hippisley's best compts." The account of the origin of the correspondence is written at the beginning, evidently by Sir J. C. Hippisley, and often corrected by himself. We may therefore consider the statements made in such a document, as entitled to every attention. The following extract is long; but contains important information.

"In England the Ecclesiastical government of the Roman Catholic subjects of his Majesty is delegated by the Pope to four Bishops in *Partibus* as his *Apostolic Vicars*. Each of these Vicars

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\* So Mr. Grattan declared in 1813.

† The MS. title on the margin of the first page is as follows: "Summary of correspondence in 1799-1800, chiefly with Lord Castlereagh, when chief Secretary for Ireland." "Original summary drawn up at the desire of the Duke of Portland, when Secretary of State for the Home Department, and copy transmitted to Mr. Pitt." At the end is the following memorandum in the Baronet's hand: "The preceding summary was transmitted to the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, 10th Sept. 1800."



has ordinarily a coadjutor, who succeeds him in cases of death or removal.

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"The Apostolic Vicars exercise a jurisdiction only in countries where the Roman Hierarchy has been discontinued, as Bishops Ordinaries do in those countries where it has been preserved; in the latter predicament Ireland has been considered by Rome.

"The Apostolic Vicars may be removed by the See of Rome at pleasure. The Bishops Ordinaries, once appointed, can only be removed for some great canonical offence proved upon them by process canonically instituted. Apostolic Vicars, as Delegates of the See of Rome, can, by their special faculties, suspend or remove the inferior clergy, at their pleasure: but Bishops Ordinaries, though they appoint the parochial clergy, cannot suspend or remove them but for canonical offences, which also must be canonically proved.

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"The eligibility of the appointment of Titular Prelates in *Ordinary* in Great Britain in the same manner as in Ireland, may also become hereafter a subject of very beneficial consideration and arrangement.

"Such a change may probably be opposed by the established Clergy, who may think that Roman Catholic Bishops *Ordinaries*, though merely titular, thus appointed with the concurrence of Government, might seem to trench upon the prerogative of the Established Church.

"In Ireland nearly the same Metropolitan and suffragan sees are preserved in either Communion, and it would be difficult to effect a change:—In England it might be otherwise, the Titular Sees, or Districts of Roman Catholic Bishops *Ordinaries*, might retain the description of the Districts which are at present allotted to the Apostolic Vicars. The style of the Ordinaries might then be Bishops of the Northern, Midland, Eastern, and Western Districts, avoiding the titles of the Sees of the Established Church, and retaining also their nominal Sees *in Partibus*, though ceasing to be Apostolic Vicars.

"It certainly would materially contribute to the gratification of the community of the British Roman Catholics, and remove, at a still greater distance, the possible interference of a foreign authority by getting rid of all *Vicarial* and delegated power from Rome, which might be extended to an interference eventually dangerous to the State, the delegation of Apostolic Vicars being wholly at the pleasure of the sovereign Pontiff; "*Ad nostrum et sedis Apostolicæ beneplacitum.*" Of this interference our access-

tors, in the time of Edward III. and Richard II., were as jealous as the most rigid adherents to the Church Establishment of the present age, and the statutes of *Provisors* and *Praemunire* still remain as monuments of their provident care.

"By some it had been considered doubtful whether Rome would consent to limit her ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Great Britain to titular Bishops Ordinaries, abandoning thereby the extensive powers delegated to her Apostolic Vicars. On this subject Sir I. H—, in the years 1794 and 1795, had repeated conferences with the principal ministers of the late Pope, and particularly with Cardinal Antonelli, then at the head of the college of *Propaganda Fide*, (which has the exclusive superintendence of the missions.) His Eminence assured Sir I. H., that no obstacle would be opposed by Rome to such a regulation; but, on the other hand, Rome would not listen to the applications of the British Roman Catholics in favour of the change, unless countenanced by His Majesty's government.

"In the construction of many Catholics, the powers delegated to Vicars Apostolic are incompatible with the independent principles of their protestation under the Act of 31st of Geo. III., and the security given to the State, under that act, is consequently imperfect.

"The Vicars being *mere agents* of the See of Rome, possess not the *canonical rights* with which Bishops Ordinaries are constitutionally invested, they have *no power to deliberate and consult whether they shall publish a Bull from Rome or not*; they must obey, and in this respect, in many instances they fall under the statutes of *Provisors* and *Praemunire*, as well as the 13th of Elizabeth.

"If canonically published, the great majority of the Catholics hold such Bulls to be binding on their consciences;—were the British prelates of the Roman Communion constituted Bishops Ordinaries, as in Ireland, they would then have an unquestionable canonical power to receive or reject any Bull from the See of Rome which they might deem objectionable.

"In many instances it is contended, and not without reason, that the exercise of spiritual authority, as delegated to the Apostolic Vicars, has often produced a civil effect, trenching on constitutional civil rights. *The appeal is now only to Rome;—to the same authority which is delegated, and the appeal to Rome is against law.* It would be otherwise in the case of Bishops Ordinaries, who would be relieved from any injurious interference of a foreign authority commanding their submission, and thus producing a conflict of contrasted duties."—pp. 6—9.

We will add only a few observations. Sir John Hippley is entirely mistaken respecting the possibility of such a hierarchy as he suggests; of bishops in ordinary

in England, with foreign sees; for example, a bishop of Chalcedon, and at the same time bishop of "the northern district." Such an arrangement would be new, unheard of, and simply impossible. If local or ordinary bishops were expedient for England, in preference to Vicars Apostolic, there was no alternative but that their sees should be in the country, where their jurisdiction lay. Again, no Catholic will agree with what is said respecting the danger to civil fidelity from the government of Vicars Apostolic: and we are sure many will disagree, as we certainly do, from what is stated on the subject of our being more detached from the Holy See by a hierarchical government. In fine, it is not as representing Catholic principles or feelings, nor as accurate in its theology or law, that we quote this passage.

But it must be deemed of some importance as showing, at the beginning of this century, exactly the opposite principles and feelings in statesmen, and in statesmen of no small eminence, from what, now half a century later, animate that class. The substitution of bishops in ordinary for vicars apostolic, was then deemed the most powerful means of securing and consolidating the fidelity of Catholics to the Crown of these realms: and for reconciling the minds of Protestants to further concessions of religious freedom. But now the same measure is spoken of as incompatible with the rights of the established religion, and the national liberties. The former was the sentiment of the tory, the latter is of the liberal, party!

To the speech quoted by Lord St. Germans, Sir J. C. Hippisley published supplementary notes\* containing "Extracts from the substance of additional observations intended to have been delivered in the debate on the petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, on the 14th May, 1805." At p. 33, he repeats much of what we have given above from him, nearly verbatim. But the following additional remarks seem worthy of transcription. He alludes to a wish that had been expressed, "that the practice of the Catholic religion in Ireland, as to government, should be put on the same footing as it is in Great Britain."

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\* London, Ridgway, 1812, 2nd Ed.

"Now, Sir, I am so far from agreeing with the noble Lord in a wish to promote such a change as he professes to think desirable in Ireland, that I shall ever be of opinion, that while we are necessarily obliged, in justice, and policy, to tolerate, at least, the practice of the Roman Catholic religion among any part of our fellow-subjects, it would be highly desirable that the superior clergy should exercise an *ordinary* jurisdiction, circumscribed and limited by the known canons of the Church, in *spirituals*, rather than, as the case is at present in England, a *vicarial* and *indefinite* authority from the See of Rome. Were the constitution of the Roman Church government the same in Great Britain as in Ireland, we certainly should find the *possible* interference of foreign authority removed to a still greater distance, by thus getting rid of vicarial, or delegated power.

"I do not wish here to enter into an examination of the different opinions entertained by Catholics on this subject: I speak only to the fact, that in this respect, no inconsiderable number of Roman Catholics in Great Britain have expressed a wish to be so far on a footing with their fellow subjects in Ireland. The Vicars apostolic themselves also must naturally incline to such a reform, as investing them with an authority more agreeable to themselves, and more congenial to the constitution of their country.

"I can speak with the greater confidence on this point, it being one of the many considerations connected with this important subject, on which I have heard much discussion, both in this country, and also many years since, from the highest authorities in the quarter from which such a reform must originate, if at all.—I am persuaded also that there are many prelates of the established Church who view it in the same light, and are of opinion, that regulations might be made without difficulty, to guard against any possible encroachment of the See of Rome on the national Church, either in *name*, *power*, or *dignity*. With equal confidence I can affirm, that it would not have been opposed in the quarter to which I have alluded, if it had been considered as a reform, sanctioned with the concurrence of his Majesty's Government.

"In this view of the subject, it is difficult to conceive how a preference can be given to the delegated Roman ecclesiastical government, as existing in Great Britain, though exercised as it is by prelates of approved and exemplary loyalty, to the exclusion of that canonically regulated system which is subject, in the instances I have described, comparatively, to much less dependance on a foreign jurisdiction."—p. 33-35.

We have it here stated, upon very competent authority, that the Catholic laity with whom Sir John was in close intimacy, desired earnestly in 1805, to have the Hier-

archy in England. And it must be observed that the Rt. Rev. Dr. Milner looked over this paper of the Baronet, and added marginal notes. But to this statement he appends no correction. We further find an able, and well informed man, instead of being afraid of the canons forming the ecclesiastical code of English Catholics, alleging their necessary adoption under a hierarchical constitution, as a motive in favour of this form of government. In short, we have one who, while he greatly interested himself in Catholic affairs, was a most zealous stickler for securities as conditions of concession, most strongly urging the establishment of a hierarchy in England, as the best possible security. Catholics, therefore, and Protestants concurred at that period in desiring, or at least approving, of the change. Is it a mark of progress in liberality, or religious freedom, that now Protestants should consider it an act of aggression, an insult to the throne, and a peril to the nation? During the years immediately following, we have not endeavoured to trace the feelings of Catholics on this subject. The great measure of relief, first more earnestly sought, and then obtained, gave an interval of effort and of consequent repose, during which lesser matters remained in abeyance. In a few years, however, the natural impulses of Catholic feeling resumed their sway, and the subject of the hierarchy became warmly agitated in our body. In the "*Catholic Magazine*" for 1835, there is a correspondence traversing the entire volume, in which the subject is discussed by several writers. We refer to these letters, not with approbation of their tone and style (with exceptions, however,) nor of the principles maintained on one side of the question. But the editor, in his preface to the volume, clearly intimates an intention of making the discussion of the hierarchy a leading topic of his periodical. "We have thought," he says, "that as no subject is more interesting to the clergy than the restoration of the only recognised system of ecclesiastical government, it becomes a proper subject of discussion in our pages." He also refers to a previous number, in which he had stated, that "unfortunately this island once lost its hierarchy, and notwithstanding the universal aspirations of the second order of the clergy, it is to be feared, that measures are not yet contemplated for its restoration;" that "it may be well to

intimate to those whom it may seem to concern more immediately," (the Vicars Apostolic,) that "the clergy were becoming restless upon the subject," and "that a movement, strong, but orderly, was daily making progress, and that nothing could repress it, but the just concession of that ecclesiastical government, which only is recognised by the spirit and genius of the Christian religion."\*

And yet, now it is pretended, that only the bishops have ambitiously pushed for the hierarchy, against the wishes of the clergy!

This sketch may suffice to connect the earliest period of the hierarchy question with that at which it is taken up in the Cardinal's "Appeal." It shows the desire of it, and the movement to procure it, to be nothing new in Catholic England; but as old as the existence of the vicariate form of government. It proves how groundless is the argument, that as the Catholics had been content with that form "for three hundred years,"† they might still have gone on with it. They never have been content with it: there has been a continual anxiety to exchange the temporary, for the normal, constitution of the Church. It shows, likewise, that the hierarchy, when at length granted, was no sudden or aggressive measure, nor a "move" on the part of the Holy See, but a long-sighed for concession from it, to the clergy, after earnest petition.

II. Why was not Government consulted on the subject?

The Earl of St. Germans expressed a wish that the Pope had postponed the adoption of this measure till it should have been "expressly desired by the English government." We think no one will hesitate to say, that this would have been equivalent to delaying it indefinitely, or rather for ever. Lord John Russell, in 1848, openly declared that he would not give his consent, if asked, to the establishment of our hierarchy. As the passage is very important, we will extract it from the very useful little compilation, entitled, "Political Opinions on the Roman Catholic Question, by the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, M.P."‡

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\* Pp. 5 and 3.

† So Lord J. Russell has stated, but this is an erroneous calculation.

‡ Messrs. Richardson and Son.



"An honourable gentleman has asked me some questions with regard to certain proceedings that have taken place. I do not know whether he means to ask me now with respect to the creation of Roman Catholic Archbishoprics in England. I do not know that the Pope has authorized in any way, by any authority he may have, the creation of any archbishopric or bishopric with dioceses in England; but certainly I have not given my consent—nor should I give my consent if I were asked to do so—to any such formation of dioceses. With regard to spiritual authority, the honourable gentleman must see, when he alludes to other states in Europe, that whatever control is to be obtained over the spiritual authority of the Pope, can only be obtained by agreement for that end. You must either give certain advantages to the Roman Catholic religion, and obtain from the Pope certain advantages in return, among which you must stipulate that the Pope shall not create any dioceses in England without the consent of the Queen; or, on the other hand, you must say that you will have nothing to do with arrangements of that kind—that you will not consent, in any way, to give any authority to the Roman Catholic religion in England. For my own part, I am not disposed to think that it would be for the advantage of this country, or that it would be agreeable to the Roman Catholics, that we should have an agreement with the Pope, by which their religious arrangements should be regulated. But although you may prevent any spiritual authority being exercised by the Pope by law, yet there is no provision—no law—my honourable friend could frame that would deprive the Pope of that influence which is merely exercised over the mind, or that would preclude him from giving advice to those that chose to attend to such advice. It is quite obvious that you cannot by any means and authority whatever prevent the Pope from communicating with the Catholics of this country. You may try to prevent such communication from being open; but I think it would be very foolish if you took any means of great vigour and energy for that purpose. If, however, such communication is not open, it will be secret. So long as there are Roman Catholics in the country, and so long as they acknowledge the Pope as the head of their Church, you cannot prevent his having spiritual influence over those who belong to that communion."\*

With this statement Catholics in Rome were well acquainted. It is at once an answer both to Lord St. Germans, and to others, who have thought that the minister's consent should have been asked, before the step was taken. Surely it is not necessary to ask leave, when you know beforehand it will be refused.

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\* Debate on Diplomatic Relations' Bill, Aug. 17, 1848, p. 31.

And if this declaration is sufficient proof that the hierarchy was not to be obtained by negotiation, it is surely a much more effectual bar to any hope that it would ever have been "expressly desired," by the present, or any other Protestant ministry. But when you are told beforehand that some one intends to refuse his consent to a measure which you propose, you naturally ask, if that consent, however desirable or advisable, be *necessary*? If not, there may be reasons why such consent had better not be asked. This will be often the more delicate course, and the one preferred by him who withholds consent.

These are therefore two important enquiries: and we proceed to answer them. Was it necessary to ask the Prime Minister's consent to the establishment of our ecclesiastical hierarchy?

Lord John Russell has here answered the question himself. You must either give the Catholics some advantage, and stipulate in return, that the Pope shall not "create any dioceses without the consent of the queen," or you must not have anything to do with the matter. Now for his own part, his Lordship declares, that he considers the latter course "for the advantage of the country," and more "agreeable to Catholics;" and therefore he naturally adopts it. What then follows? Why, that there is no legal obstacle to the Pope's creating dioceses, without Her Majesty's consent. Only a concordat can prevent him.

But from antecedents, had we any reason to suppose that we ought to have asked consent? This brings us to explain and enlarge on, some of the cases alleged in the "Appeal." As we have already observed, there were not at hand, when it was written, sources of accurate information; and we are empowered to correct some slight, and unintentional inaccuracies. For this purpose we will trace more minutely the history of the establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in our North American provinces; as it will thereby appear, how gradual, and well considered were the steps by which it reached its accomplishment. The details will perhaps be somewhat tedious, but they may have their use.

Mgr. Plessis, bishop of Quebec, wrote to Propaganda, Sept. 14th, 1814, that he had not succeeded in getting himself legally recognized as bishop, nor in being able

to propose the division of his immense diocese into several bishoprics or coadjutorships. In 1817, to reward his services to the government during the last American war, Lord Sherbrooke proposed, and the Prince Regent issued through Lord Bathurst, a *mandamus*, by which Mgr. Plessis was admitted into the Legislative Council of Canada, under the title of Bishop of the Catholic Church of Quebec. In the same year, Lord Castle-reagh wrote to Cardinal Consalvi that his court would agree to the erection of three Vicariates (not Dioceses however,) viz., Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island. Mgr. Plessis agreed to this, *provided it should be considered a preparation for the erection of a proper Ecclesiastical Province in Canada*. Hereupon Pius VII. approved the petition of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, held Nov. 23, 1818, by which Mgr. Plessis was declared Archbishop of Quebec, without suffragans, but with two auxiliaries or Vicars, Dr. MacDonnell for U. Canada, and Dr. MacEachern for N. Brunswick, &c. This displeased Lord Bathurst, *because* the Protestants had only a bishop and not an archbishop in Quebec. On this occasion two other Episcopal Vicars auxiliary were named; Mgr. Lartigue for Montreal, and Mgr. Provencher for the north portion of Quebec. In 1825 Lord Bathurst, (so Dr. Poynter writes,) would not for many reasons agree to the erection of Montreal into a Diocese, but he was willing, in order to manage the many Irish settlers there, that Dr. MacDonnell should be declared *Bishop Ordinary* of Upper Canada.\* In 1826, Feb. 2, Dr. Poynter wrote, that *Lord Bathurst would leave the Holy See quite free in erecting the Vicariate of Prince Edward's Island into a Bishopric*, provided it should be independent of Quebec. In 1836, 1837, a correspondence took place between Lord Gosford, Lord Glenelg, and others, regarding the See of Montreal, which deserves to be given more in detail.

LORD GLENELG TO LORD GOSFORD, May 20, 1836.

"My Lord,

"I have read and had under my consideration your Lordship's Despatch of the 9th Feb. last, No. 16, on the subject of the establishment of a second Roman Catholic

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\* Letters of Bishop Poynter, Nov. 2, 1824, Feb. 8, 1825.

See in Lower Canada, by the separation of the District of Montreal from that of Quebec. In your Despatch is endorsed a memorandum showing the correspondence which had passed between your Lordship's predecessor and this Department relative to the recognition by His Majesty's Government of Roman Catholic Bishops in the Province of Lower Canada. This question has also been brought under my notice by Dr. Bramston. I need not assure your Lordship of the anxiety which is felt by His Majesty's Government to take all necessary measures for supplying the wants, and for meeting the wishes of His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Lower Canada, in regard to their religious instruction. But at the same time *the legal objections to the recognition by any formal instrument of a Roman Catholic Bishop within the British Dominions are insuperable*, and your Lordship will readily understand that the course pursued in the case of M. de Plessis, in the year 1817, for avoiding those objections, is no longer admissible. *I am happy, however, to feel that such recognition is not essential.* Neither Mgr. Panet, who immediately succeeded M. de Plessis, nor the present Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, have ever been recognized under that title by any more formal document than a Despatch, bearing the signature of the Secretary of State; and although Dr. Mac D., the Roman Catholic Bishop of Upper Canada, has a seat in the Legislative Council of that Province, he did not receive that distinction until some years after his investment with independent Episcopal authority; nor was he described in the mandamus under the sign manual by his local title. In regard to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, a similar course appears to have been pursued; the Roman Catholic Bishops of those colonies having been merely sanctioned by letters from this department. His Majesty's Government are unwilling to pursue any course in this matter which might appear to be unprecedented or unusual. *But they at the same time desire to accede to the wishes of the Roman Catholic population on this subject, supported as they are by your Lordship's recommendation, and enforced by Dr. Bramston.* I shall be ready, therefore, to sanction in the same manner which was adopted in the case of Upper Canada and Nova Scotia, the appointment of a separate Roman Catholic Bishop for the District of Montreal, whenever the necessary arrangement shall have been completed by the Ecclesiastical authorities, and provided that your Lordship shall signify to me that the person to be named to that dignity is of strict moral conduct, of adequate learning, and of unquestionable loyalty. But it must of course be understood, that His Majesty's Government, in sanctioning this appointment, have no power to attach to the situation any secular advantages or emoluments of any kind.

"I have the honour, &c.,

"GLENELG."

Endorsed by Lord Glenelg.—“*Cannot recognize by formal instrument a Roman Catholic Bishop in the British dominions, but will sanction by a Despatch of the Colonial Secretary of State the appointment of a separate Roman Catholic Bishop for the District of Montreal, when the Ecclesiastical arrangements will be completed.*”

It appears, therefore, that Government could not sanction the nomination of new bishops, by any official act; but was glad that “such recognition was not essential.” But still a courteous recognition would be given of titles when bestowed by the Holy See.

The following documents refer to the same See of Montreal, and are of the following year. It must be observed that the appointments to the see and the coadjutorship, were both made by the pontifical authority alone, and not by concert with the State.

LORD GOSFORD TO THE BISHOP OF MONTREAL, 25 Jan., 1837.

“My dear Sir,

“I was anxious with the least possible delay to put you in possession of a copy of Lord Glenelg’s letter, conveying the king’s authority for recognizing you as *Bishop of Montreal*; but I was unfortunately so occupied at the time it left this, that I was precluded from accompanying it with the expression of gratification which I felt in receiving it, and also of assuring you of the pleasure it affords me in having been in any way instrumental in promotion of any object you were naturally so desirous of accomplishment. With every wish, &c.,

“GOSFORD.”

(Enclosure.)

“No. 150.

Downing Street, 2 Dec., 1836.

“My Lord,

“I have had the honour to receive your Despatch of the 8th Oct., No. 111, announcing that in conformity with the arrangement proposed in my Despatch of the 26th of May last, the necessary stages had been taken for dividing the Roman Catholic See of Quebec from that of Montreal, and for appointing the Rev. M. Lartigue to the Bishopric of the latter See. Under the circumstances, and adverting to the high character which M. Lartigue bears for moral conduct, for learning and for loyalty, I have much pleasure in conveying to you the authority for recognizing him in the character of *Roman Catholic Bishop of Montreal*. I have the honour, &c.

“GLENELG.”

"MONSIEUR THE ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP OF MONTREAL.

" Monseigneur,

Sept. 9, 1837.

"I have been commanded by the Governor in Chief to acquaint you that the receipt of His Excellency's Despatch, reporting the appointment of the Rev. Ignatius Bourget to be your Coadjutor has recently been acknowledged by the Secretary of State, and it affords His Excellency great pleasure to have it in his power to communicate to you, that he has been informed by the Secretary of State, that in laying the Despatch in question before the Queen, Her Majesty was graciously pleased, so far as it is competent to Her Majesty, to sanction this appointment, or necessary that such a sanction should be given, to signify her approval of it. I have, &c.,

" WALCOTT, Civil Secretary."

A curious circumstance occurred, with respect to this appointment, which shows the jealousy of the Canadian bishops, about any State interference with their nomination. In the Registers of Canada, it had been stated, that Dr. Bourget had taken the Oath of Allegiance "until the queen's pleasure with regard to his nomination could be known." He objected to this entry, and in May, 1840, the local government declared the entry erroneous, and ordered it to be amended in this form: "Dr. B. has taken the oath as *Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church of Montreal.*" In 1837, Dr. Mac Donnell had tried to persuade the home government, through Lord Gosford, Governor General, to recognize an ecclesiastical province in Canada, if the Holy See should be willing to establish one, but he died before anything was obtained, and the outbreak prevented any further mention of the subject. In the autumn of 1839, Dr. Bourget spoke to Lord Sydenham, (Poulett Thompson) on this matter, and he appeared favourable. Lord S. gave him a letter of introduction to Lord John Russell, then, we believe, (1841) Secretary for the Colonies, in order, that if the Holy See should agree to the erection of Canada into a Province, Dr. B. might, in passing through London, treat with Lord John of the civil recognition of this erection, and of the erection of the See of Kingston. This letter Dr. B. sent from Paris to Lord John Russell, in one dated June 15th, 1841, in which he says, he supposes Lord Sydenham has written home about the ecclesiastical affairs of



Canada, (but he does not explain them in detail, nor even name the heads of them.) He says, he shall defer his conference with Lord John *until he has conferred with the authorities in Rome*, and if they sanction them, "*j'aurai l'honneur de recourir a V. S. pour que dans sa sagesse, Elle veuille bien, en tant que de besoin les reconnaitre pour les effets civils.*" Here is the reply :

"Downing Street, July 7th, 1841.

"MY LORD,

"I am directed by Lord J. Russell, to acknowledge your letter of the 15th ult., enclosing a letter of introduction from the Governor General of Canada, and stating your intention to wait on his Lordship relative to the affairs of the Roman Catholic Church in that province. I am directed, in answer, to acquaint you, that Lord John Russell will be ready to communicate with you when you arrive in this country. I have the honour, &c.

"R. VERNON SMITH.

"*The Right Rev. the Roman Catholic Bishop of Montreal.*"

This brings us to the Cardinal's share in the transaction, and having before us authentic documents, the statement we are about to give, may be considered as corrective of any inaccuracy, (we believe none substantial) in p. 27 of the "*Appeal.*"

On the 27th of Nov. 1841, a letter was written to Bp. Wiseman by the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, informing him of the great desire expressed by the Bishops of Canada, to have an ecclesiastical province there established, of which the Archbishop of Quebec should be metropolitan, and should have for suffragans, the Bishops of Kingstown, Charlottetown, Montreal, of a new see to be established in the west of Upper Canada, and of the districts of Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, which were to be converted into dioceses. It was further stated, that such a measure appeared advantageous to religion; that difficulties had been raised to this step in 1820, but that times and feelings had much altered since then, "*atque id confirmare potest epistola quam die 7 Julii, 1841, Exmus D. Russel, tunc temporis regius coloniarum Administer scribens ad R. P. D. Bourget Epum Marianopolitanum, significaverat, se paratum esse ad agendum cum eodem Epo de negotio isto.*"

The letter went on to say, that on Bishop Bourget's return to England, he had found the ministry changed, and the S. Congregation had no information as to the disposition of the actual ministry. The Bishop was, therefore, commissioned to ascertain, as prudently as possible, whether any obstacle was likely to be raised by Government, to the establishment of such a hierarchy.

Upon receipt of this letter, he took the liberty of writing to Lord Stanley, and bringing the matter under his notice. It was not till Feb. 3rd, 1842, that he received a note from his Lordship's private secretary, marked "private," in which, after an apology for the delay, he was informed that his Lordship could not as yet give any official answer, because he had yet to take advice upon some points. He afterwards received a second letter, (though the memorandum before us does not supply the date, and the original is not in London,) informing him, that the answer would be communicated to the Bishops themselves in Canada.

It seems, however, that no such answer was ever given. Rome did not proceed till fresh applications were made; and on the 13th of January, 1844, another letter was written to the Bishop, asking his opinion, as to whether the Holy See might proceed, without danger of a quarrel, to create the new hierarchy. Accordingly, on the 30th of the same month, he called at Downing Street, and had the interview alluded to in the "Appeal;" but which there, from want of the introduction of a new date, appears to have immediately followed the commission to apply to government in 1841. In the first interview, the Bishop expressed his desire to ascertain whether Lord Stanley's neglecting to give any answer to the former application had been intentional or accidental, as information on this subject would be very important, as a key to the intentions of Government. The answer was, that in the opinion of the gentlemen with whom the conference was held, the silence was intentional; but that reference would be made to the Secretary of the Colonies himself, and that the Bishop should have an answer in writing.

After a brief interval, he received a polite note, asking him to go up again to London, as a verbal answer would be returned in preference to a written one. Accordingly, on the 12th of February, he had the second interview, of

which we have a full account before us, written by the Bishop himself on the 13th. He was informed, that "it had been hoped, that the silence observed would be rightly interpreted; that if the plan had been confined to Canada, Her Majesty's government might have treated about it, because, by the act of cession of Canada, Great Britain was bound to recognise there a Catholic hierarchy, and there would have been little difficulty in acceding to a multiplication of bishoprics; but that the other countries comprised in the scheme, did not fall under the provisions of that act, *and therefore government could not, in the present state of the laws, treat of the establishment of a hierarchy there.*" He was further reminded of what had lately been done in Australia, without objection; and it was intimated to him, that Sir Charles Metcalfe, then governor, would be privately written to, not to raise any obstacles to the proposed organization.

On the following day, the Bishop wrote the full particulars of these interviews to the proper authorities; concluding with these words: "It appears, therefore, that no opposition to the wishes of the Holy See need be feared from Her Majesty's Government." On the 13th of May, the constitution of the hierarchy in North America was decided; and this letter, as is stated in the "Appeal," became the basis of the transaction; for the province was confined to Canada.

We must apologize for the length of this narrative; but it is suggestive of some useful and practical reflections.

1. It shows that the desire for a hierarchy is natural, and almost instinctive in every imperfectly organized Church: Canada wanted it as much as England; nor was the expression of that want aggressive, or proof of aggressive principles. It was never deemed so.

2. For twenty-seven years the Bishop of North-America struggled, and negotiated, having begun in 1817, and persevered till 1844; when they saw their hopes crowned with success, six years before England obtained the same boon. The steps by which they advanced are well worth considering. Under what is looked upon as an illiberal administration, they were first checked, but at last left free to act in the matter. Then they were sufficiently given to understand, that no recognition of the titles by the Government could give any civil advan-

tage. Further, it is clear that so conscious was Government of there being no necessity for this recognition, that a qualifying phrase is added to the declaration of the Queen's consent, as if this was by no means necessary.

3. It is evident, also, that all the ecclesiastical arrangements for the re-establishment of the hierarchy were made directly between the Holy See and the Bishops, and that no objection was ever raised to this plan of action, nor has any complaint been since made of it. On the contrary, Lord John Russell expressed his willingness to see a Bishop, after he had been to Rome, to concert, independently, with the Holy See, the ecclesiastical arrangements of his country.

4. Finally, in the last negotiation on the subject with Government, it was more than implied, that it could make no objection to the full establishment of a hierarchy, and at the same time could give no consent to it. An official, or even a direct unofficial, answer was declined to be given to an enquiry concerning the wishes of ministers, on the subject.

What was to be naturally inferred from this course, but that, on the one hand, we had as full a right to establish a similar hierarchy in England; and that it was only embarrassing Government to make it a party to the arrangement?

A further question, however, arises: *could* Lord John Russell have given consent to the establishment of our hierarchy? From the Durham Letter to his last speech, his Lordship has been pleased to consider the establishment by the Pope of a hierarchy in England, as an act of temporal jurisdiction, as a usurpation of the royal power. Now the character of the act could not have been altered by his consent. The Crown itself cannot give away its prerogative, nor limit its own rights, by admitting any other person to exercise them. If we had asked Lord John, to permit the Pope to grant to Catholics an ecclesiastical organization, (for the Pope and not the Crown must have been the grantor), he would have been obliged to answer: "The distributing of England into Dioceses and the appointing of bishops with local titles are part of the prerogative of the Crown; no one but the Queen can perform these acts; and therefore under no circumstances can I, or any minister,

permit the Pope to exercise them." Again, Lord John Russell has taken the protestant oath of allegiance, which denies that "the Pope hath or ought to have," not only any temporal and civil, but any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, power or pre-eminence in England. Whether, therefore, we look at the Pope's act as an exercise of purely spiritual jurisdiction, or, as our opponents will have it, as one of temporal authority, the Prime Minister could not be a concurring or consenting party to it.

Such certainly was the celebrated opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, Gifford and Copley, when consulted by Mr. Canning, as to whether any answer could be returned to the Pope's letter, announcing his accession, to our King. They declared that for the minister merely to acknowledge the letter, in which the Pope spoke of himself as raised to the Pontificate, might be "interpreted into an implied recognition" of his claim to "authority, jurisdiction, and pre-eminence over the whole Christian Church, and certainly over the Catholic Church in this realm."

Let us then suppose an application made to the Prime Minister to allow the issuing of a Brief, whereby territorial titles should be given to Catholic bishops, what must have been his answer? Why, that, to say the least, this would be an act of spiritual power on the Pope's part, and he, having made oath that the Pope has not, nor ought to have, any such power, he could not grant any consent. If so, Catholics were in this alternative. Either they must never expect a hierarchical government in England, or it must be established without the Minister's concurrence. To decide which they ought to choose, must surely depend on the question of their rights. If there is nothing illegal in the constitution of the hierarchy, certainly there is no principle which compels us to ask leave to have it, from one who is bound to refuse it. The same question may return in a thousand ways. The Prime Minister, bound by his oath, could not grant leave for the Pope to give a matrimonial dispensation, nor an Indulgence, nor faculties; he could not permit the creation of Apostolic Vicariates, nor of any other episcopal office. How, then, have we acted in times past, in respect to all these matters; and how shall we continue to act in future? We

consider whether, or no, there be anything illegal in these acts, and whether, or no, they be comprised in that religious freedom which we have at least imagined, had been granted to us; and we simply act, without going to Downing Street for leave.

On this same principle we acted in the case of the hierarchy, and the question to be answered by us is only, "is the institution of it contrary to law?" Fortunately it has been answered for us, by no suspected authority. Lord John Russell, during the present debate in Parliament, has shown no desire to be sparing or lenient towards his persevering, but now undeceived followers, the Catholics of England, their clergy, their religion, or their feeling. In spite of all pretences, and shufflings, it has already come out: that no generous or lofty motives have guided state measures since the Durham letter, and that there was no lull in the persecuting spirit during the interval between that singular document, and the legislative course now pursued. In the mean time the law was searched, its high state-officers were consulted; and the Prime Minister has spoken their award, that no law had been violated, and no remedy existed for the papal exercise of authority but a new act of Parliament. A great, and we believe, a new maxim has thus been laid down, that pains and penalties may be, and ought to be, enacted for an act which it is acknowledged was perfectly legal.

But at any rate, we certainly shall never be blamed again, for not going, cap in hand, to the first Lord of the Treasury, humbly to solicit his gracious permission to carry out that organization of our Church which there was no law to forbid. The probability of our obtaining any leave has now been very fairly ascertained: or perhaps the present legislation may be considered as the penalty of not having gone to ask a permission, which must necessarily have been refused. The result in any case is, that Catholics have completely misunderstood the meaning of their Emancipation.

II. It has been said, however, that the granting of territorial titles is an infringement of an exclusively royal prerogative.

The difficulty of closing with this objection lies in its total novelty. No one that we have seen has gone beyond a very vague principle as the basis of the objec-



tion, that the Queen, or the Sovereign, is the only fountain of honour. But to make this bear on the question, one of the following points must be made good. Is the Sovereign the fountain of all ecclesiastical, as well as civil honour? Or is the title of Bishop a civil one, or a title of honour at all, in the sense of the courtly axiom? As to the first, surely no one can seriously answer in the affirmative. Whatever title of ecclesiastical honour there is beyond the pale of the Establishment, no one will say is exclusively in the Sovereign's gift: not even, indeed, within that pale. No religious body will admit the Crown to be the source of those titles which it considers honourable, because connected with religious duties. Rabbi is still an honoured title among the Jews, so is Superintendent, or Elder, or Minister, in the dissenting bodies; yet no one ever dreamt that they belong to the honours of which Majesty is the fountain. We may, therefore, conclude, that the aphorism so often quoted signifies, that the Sovereign is the only source of *civil* honour.

Next comes the question, is the title of Bishop a title of honour in this sense? Let us take the two hierarchies together, where they agree in titles or appellations.

<i>Catholic.</i>	<i>Anglican.</i>
1. Deacon.	1. Deacon.
2. Priest.	2. Priest.
3. Bishop.	3. Bishop.

It is clear that one and two, Deacon and Priest, are not titles of honour, in the sense in which that maxim is applied. Catholic and Protestant are equal so far, and no one claims for the crown the granting of either title. Let us then ask, is the third anything more than a higher degree of the same class of titles as 2 and 3? The Bishop is an ecclesiastical rank and dignity evolved out of the priesthood; it is the *plenitudo sacerdotii*, the full development of the priestly office; not a new and distinct order of being. Yet in the Anglican Establishment No. 3 has annexed to it the peerage, which alone the crown can give, and thus it comes to be considered essentially a compound dignity; and it requires an effort, in common minds, to separate the civil from the ecclesiastical character. Indeed a dictum of Lord Thurlow's is recorded, when, speaking of some

bishops or other, he said that, "they must be only sham bishops, for they had no seat in the House of Lords." Hence too, that strictly English parlance, which applies the same word, "Bench," to the episcopal body and to its seat in the Upper House. But while No. 3 in the Anglican system is taken thus out of the ecclesiastical category, it is evident that no accident occurs to remove the same number in the Catholic hierarchy from its place; it is one in a series of purely spiritual functionaries. The title of "Bishop" in a Catholic is therefore no more a civil one than "Priest." It expresses a higher degree of ecclesiastical office, and no more.

But it will be said that the title of Deacon or Priest is bestowed directly by ordination, while that of Bishop proceeds, with us, from collation by a foreign power. We need not say that this would equally affect a Vicar Apostolic, a title of which lately statesmen have become strangely enamoured. Let us however shift the venue of this enquiry from Italy to Germany, from Rome to Herrnhut.

The United Brethren, or Moravians, of this Kingdom, are, in their ecclesiastical government, and in many social and even domestic matters, such as marriages, as much dependant on a superior foreign authority as English Catholics. The supreme jurisdiction of the whole body resides in the "Elders' Conference of the Unity," at Herrnhut, in Germany. This board is renewed by general synods held there, to which deputies from England, Ireland, and America repair. *All bishops are named and consecrated at the synod:* and no English or other "bishop has a right to ordain any minister without commission from the Elders' conference of the Unity, or from a provincial Conference of superintendence, acting by the authority of the synod."\* All important matters too are referred to the Elders' Conference. Here then we have a religious body, not

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\* History of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren, by the Rev. John Holmes, Vol. ii. Lond. 1830, p. 325. The "Provincial Conferences of superintendence" are established in England, America, &c., and we are told that their functions "are similar to those of the Elders' Conference of the Unity, with the exception that the sanction of the latter is required in all important measures." Ib. p. 333.

numerous,\* but scattered all over the world, held in unity to a supreme power resident in Germany—a council it is true, but as much a supreme power as a single ruler could be—deriving jurisdiction in its ministers from it, as much as Catholics from Rome, and even more. Of course no jealousy is felt of this foreign spiritual power. Let us then suppose that the synod of Herrnhut, petitioned, or advised, by its English bishops, were to multiply the number of these prelates here, and parcel out the country into new provincial conferences, equivalent to archiepiscopal provinces; little or no notice would, we believe, be taken by the public, of such a proceeding.

It has indeed been said, that the Moravian bishops have been recognised, incidentally, we believe, in some Act of Parliament. Be it so: but this only confirms our argument. If the derivation of an episcopate from a foreign source was an essential violation of a royal prerogative, no Act of Parliament could have sanctioned it. This very sanction, therefore, disproves this objection. It is not a foreign, but the Papal, power that makes the act unpleasant. It may be further added, that although a regulation exists that no foreign order, military or civil, can be worn without royal permission, and it is well understood at least, that such permission will only be granted, when the order has been awarded for military services. Russian orders have been, and are worn by the highest nobility in public, without reproof. Yet such orders confer a title of honour, bestowed by a foreign sovereign, and to accept them ought to be considered an infringement of the Sovereign's prerogative as the fountain of honour.

However, it will be further said, that the evil in our case lies in the territorial nature of the title. It is not being Bishop, but Bishop of a place in the Queen's dominions, that constitutes the crime. Did we consider this conflict as one of principle, and not of mere feeling, we should argue this point more fully. But we will content ourselves with one or two brief remarks.

First, then, in other cases, where a title is bestowed by the sovereign, it is the same whether it assume a territorial form or not. Thus Lord Truro, or Lord Langdale, or the Earl of Carnarvon, or the Marquess of Northampton,

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\* About 130,000.

though their names have been exchanged for territorial designations, are no differently, or in a higher sense, Barons, Earl, or Marquess, than Lord Petre, or Lord Stourton, Earl Craven, or Marquess of Conyngham, who merely append the family surname to their titles. In fact, no one doubts that the title which must flow from the "fountain of honour," which gives precedence, rank, and privilege, lies in the distinction of the dignity, not in its adjunct being territorial or not. If, therefore, there is no such title of civil honour in the designation of Bishop, without a peerage, it can make no difference whether it be given with a territorial determination, or a vague patronymic. Again we may observe, that a territorial appointment is as necessary as the title itself. If a Bishop be called Bishop Smith among the Catholics, or Bishop Foster among the Moravians, each by a foreign source of office, he must still have a limited sphere of action, even if it comprehend all England; and thus he is, to all intents and purposes, Bishop of that sphere. But his see does no more towards converting his title into one of civil or territorial honour, than does the parish which determines the priest's exercise of functions convert his. Each must have a circumscription of some sort, and that of a bishop is called his Diocese.

The real question, in fact, returns back upon us. It is now discovered, that Catholics were completely mistaken when they imagined, in 1829, that they received religious freedom, that is, the power of exercising their religion according to its laws, and with its proper organization; they were mistaken, if the preamble of the Bill before Parliament means anything, in fancying that the titles not occupied by Anglican prelates were open to other Bishops; they were more grossly mistaken in believing Lord John Russell's word, in 1845 and 1846, that he considered it foolish to keep up even the restriction that the Emancipation Act had retained; and they were stupidly mistaken in not knowing, that Episcopacy was to be for ever a monopoly of Anglicanism, and that Catholics, free and equal in name with all other religious bodies, must make up their minds to be before the law a Presbyterian, acephalous, bishopless Church, which must either so far bend to law as to unchurch itself, by cutting off its own head, or else must be content to be considered, and to treat with the State, as a body naturally existing, and morally

living, without that important functional organ. That inconveniences will be felt, resulting from the new arrangement, should it become law, there can be no doubt; and in Ireland particularly, the attempt to trammel episcopal action, or to put a new "brand" upon the acknowledged religious guides and teachers of the population—and the very phrase has been used—seems as wise a proceeding as would be the paralysing of the leading pair of nerves in a body, in hopes of thereby bringing it more easily under control. The Prime Minister, in his opening speech, with a naivete that was quite startling, assured the House, that the Bill which he was introducing had the approbation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London. We say this announcement was startling; for it sounded to us, as if a judge on the bench should tell his colleagues his intention of giving judgment against the defendant, and recommend his decision by assuring them, that he had taken the opinion of the plaintiffs on the subject, and they fully approved of his purpose.

IV. Among the topics which have most invited the attention of legal orators, none has been more profitable to our opponents than the Canon Law. In our own opportunities of cultivating this science, we had apparently been totally misguided. One year of the Institutes, and four, at least, of the Text, of Canon Law has been considered in Catholic Universities a short course of study, barely preparatory to its practical application under the direction of experienced jurisconsults. For after this, to become a good Canonist, is considered the work of years, and even of a life. It is a study as extensive, and as complicated as that of the civil law, or of the code of any country. Indeed, except in Italy, or Spain, and perhaps occasionally in parts of Germany, what could be called a thorough and profound Canonist, is hardly to be found. But in England it is not so. Lectures on the Canon Law have been advertised and given in Concert Rooms; and Hippodromes, with the ready flippancy of a practised charlatan, sure of an audience at least a little more ignorant than himself, and as ready to swallow, as he was to cook, richly seasoned flams. Yet formerly to say of a person *Sacros Canones exposuit*, "he lectured on the canons," was high praise in the schools. Rising, however, to a more elevated platform, we have heard with astonishment, that

verged towards the mingled feeling between the ridiculous and the melancholy,

("Who would not laugh if such a man there be?  
Who would not weep if Atticus were he?")

able and earnest men, who ought better to have known the difficulties of grappling with an immense system of foreign legislation, take quite as bold, though perhaps less reckless, a flight. Can Mr. P. Wood, for instance, really flatter himself that in a few weeks he has mastered, what we take on ourselves to assert, no professed Canonist in Europe pretends to do, the intricacies of the canonical rights which accrue to every part of the Church, under a newly constituted hierarchy, under a Protestant government? Never was there a more complete tissue of fallacies than he has put forth, both as regarding the introduction of Canon Law now among Catholics, and as to the authority and rights which it confers upon the new Episcopate. But this is a branch of our subject which we must reserve for another paper. For we do not believe that the bugbear of Canon Law is likely to make any great impression upon the public mind. It is rather for the sake of our Catholic readers that we shall treat the subject. While engaged with such incessant and persevering conflicts without, we have neglected treating the subject of the hierarchy, as it is interesting to our own body. In a future number we propose to ourselves to do this task. We shall go to press with what we have written just as a season for better thoughts approaches, and we are certainly thankful to Lord John Russell for one thing: for having allowed us our Holy and our Easter Week, and some few days of preparation before them, free from the bitterness of strife, and the tumults of contending passions. We have already gathered enough for one passion-tide, to make our bundle of myrrh, and bear with us among our sacred duties. Mr. Drummond alone has given every Catholic, man, woman, and child, sufficient to exact patience and forgiveness by the most pleading motives of mercy. Where "they know not what they do" could be urged against sacrilege, "they know not what they say" may be suggested to our hearts, as a ground of hope, that what is little less than blasphemy in our ears, may be a plea for forgiveness.



ART. VIII.—*The Royal Commission for visiting the Universities.* 1850.

ALMOST three centuries have passed away since the Convocation of the English Church, the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the English Bishops in their individual capacity, united in protesting against a measure urged through Parliament by the power of the Crown, at that time enormous, and the servility of nobles and gentry gorged with the plunder of religious houses. This united protest of the spiritual power against the aggression of the civil was fruitless: the act of Parliament passed; in virtue of it every member, save one, of the existing English episcopate was deposed and expelled from his see, a new episcopate was set up by the civil power, consecrated according to an ordinal composed by a parliamentary committee whose president disbelieved the Apostolical Succession, and deriving its jurisdiction from the Crown.

The civil law, by virtue of which the ancient English Episcopate descending from S. Augustine was thus extinguished, transferred to the sovereign of these realms that spiritual supremacy, which from S. Augustine downwards, had been exercised by the Pope. Fourteen heads of Colleges at Oxford, and near ninety fellows, and eleven heads of Colleges at Cambridge, besides several fellows, were expelled for refusing subscription to this same law. But the Convocation, in its protest, had expressed its belief not only in the Supremacy of the Pope, but in the Real Presence, and the Sacrifice of the Mass; doctrines which it conceived to be overthrown by the new law. The resolution, thus carried by the force of the civil power, involved therefore not only a change in the *person* from whom spiritual power descended, and to whom spiritual obedience was due, but a change in those objective *doctrines* on which the spiritual kingdom itself is built, and for which its officers have their functions. Up to that time Bishops had been instituted in virtue of a warrant from the Chief Bishop of Christendom; from that time they were instituted in virtue of a warrant from the Queen of England. Up to that time Priests had offered in mystical sacrifice the Body and Blood of Christ on the altar; from that time ministers distributed the Lord's Supper to their brethren. Up to

that time both Bishops and Priests had been consecrated by a ritual descending from remote antiquity, and conveying in the most absolute terms high spiritual powers: from that time these two orders were, aptly enough it must be confessed, set apart for their modified functions by a maimed and dislocated ritual, not ten years old, and drawn up by the command of the sovereign.

That fair and beautiful structure of worship, which sprung up beneath St. Peter's moulding hand, and had been hallowed through fifteen centuries by Greek and Roman, by Northman and by Saxon, was torn down by the sacrilege of the State, and its chiselled and polished stones, mixed with earth and rubble, served for the erection of a meaner and mongrel building, where the beauty of isolated parts did but set off the want of unity and harmony in the whole; as Roman architrave and Greek capital, encased amid the rubbish of the Turk, only make us indignant at the work of the spoiler, while we sigh over the glories of the past. A new episcopate and a hybrid ministry corresponded well to a fragmentary ordinal and an amphibious liturgy.

Thus the year 1559 inaugurated a complete change in the spiritual government and the worship of England. We propose to consider the effect of this change on the course of studies pursued at the universities, and on their character as ecclesiastical schools.

But what had been their previous history? It seems almost necessary to glance at this for a due understanding of the effects wrought by the above-mentioned change.

The universities, as they existed in the middle of the sixteenth century, carry us back to one of the most interesting periods of history. They sprung from that mighty movement of the human mind which arose in Europe about A. D. 1100, and continued to about 1300. It was the fresh intellect of young nations moulded by the Church into a unity of spirit, civilization, learning, and religious feeling, which now threw itself with passion and enthusiasm on the deepest and most intricate problems of human life. And this intellect was necessarily collected in certain great centres, because, as yet, before printing was discovered, the process of teaching was by the "*living word*," and not by the "*dead letter*." Perhaps the whole difference between ancient and modern times, and the whole

difficulty which has made the actual world so ungovernable, is summed up in this distinction. So then this intellectual life collected and energised at certain places, such as Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge. Then it was that thirty thousand students are reported to have been at Oxford. In the Universities the flower and youth of Europe met: here in consequence sprung up a system of religious and metaphysical philosophy, not belonging to any one nation, but common to Christendom, and under the inspection and guardianship of that Church, which was the soul of Christendom. The object of this philosophy in religion was to arrange and systematize and work out to its ultimate results that vast fabric of doctrine which had come down to the Church from the Fathers. It was on this field that Peter Lombard and Albert the Great, that the angelic and seraphic doctors, and their inferior but still mighty fellow-labourers, worked, and aimed at mental victories, as much more grand than Alexander's lust of conquest, or Cæsar's passion for rule, as mind is superior to matter. But a nobler impulse than ambition moved them. It was to bring all arts and all philosophy under the sway of that kingdom, which the true Sovereign of their hearts, the Son of God and Son of Mary, had set up in the world. Thus unity and universality, completeness and harmony, were the marks of that mental fabric which they reared. It overlooked and absorbed national differences as naturally as that kingdom which was designed to make all nations one. And the great seats and workshop of this philosophy were at Paris and at Oxford; where, accordingly, the studies were not national but European. Thus we read that "the University of Paris had far more of a European than of a French character, as to the elementary bodies which composed it. It comprised four *nations*, viz., French, English, Normans and Picards; the French containing, as *provinces* or subdivisions, Frenchmen, Provençals, Gascons, Italians, and Greeks. Under the English nation were ranked the British and Irish, Germans and Scandinavians. The third nation had no subdivision. The fourth comprised Picardy, Brabant, and Flanders."\* It is true that the insular position of Oxford, and its remoteness, prevented such an

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\* Huber on the English Universities, translated by Newman. Vol. I, p. 80.

affluence of many nations, as at Paris. And so we find that "although foreigners often came to the English Universities for the advantage of study, they were never reckoned as integrant parts of the scholastic organization. Its two nations were wholly native, except that the Southernmen generally included the Irish and Welsh, while under the Northernmen were comprehended the Scotch." Yet the studies at Oxford and Cambridge and at Paris were mainly the same. The Latin, as it was the language of the Church, so it became the language of these philosophic schools, which aimed at being co-extensive with the Church. Grammar, logic, and rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, formed a ground-work of arts. The study of the Church's canon law, and the Roman civil law, made a faculty of jurisprudence. That of medicine was a third. While all these were viewed as the handmaids of theology, the crown of all human knowledge, as uniting man with God, and as itself wholly reared on that union of the Two Natures in one Person, which alone has made such unity possible. Thus it was that the mediæval universities were preeminently Catholic. They tended to efface nationalism in the greater whole of Christendom. S. Thomas, an Italian by birth, and a near kinsman of the German Emperor, became the common doctor of French and English, of Spaniard and Scandinavian. A glorious result, surely, of that day, when "Parthian and Mede and Elamite—strangers of Rome, Jews and Proselytes, Cretes and Arabians" heard the Apostles speaking in their own tongue "the wonderful works of God." And in proportion were these great seats of learning and religious philosophy favoured by the Church, which gradually emancipated them from the superintendence of the local bishop, gave to their supreme officer spiritual jurisdiction over their members, and subjected them to the Pope alone. "No person," says Huber, "thought of denying that the Papal See was the last and supreme authority concerning the studies, belief, discipline, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Universities. The only question was, whether and how far those nearer steps in the hierarchy, the authorities of the national Church, might be passed over, and the Chair of St. Peter reached at once."\* "Nor did the kings scruple to inter-

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\* Vol. II., 210, 207, 215.

cede with the Popes in behalf of the Universities, as often as they desired to obtain for them new Papal privileges, or the Papal confirmation of the old and new, Papal and Royal, privileges." "For instance, Edward II. requested of the Pope (v. Wood, A. D. 1317), that the English Universities, as the University of Paris, might have the privilege of 'lecturing (*legendi*) in every part of the world,' that is to say, as in the case of so many other privileges, he asked him to confirm what already existed." "From the king to the peasant every one upon certain occasions addressed himself to Rome, when unable to obtain at home his real or supposed rights: and every one at such times looked upon Rome as a refuge and protection."

The spring of intellectual activity in the English Universities seems to have risen to its flood between 1200 and 1350: in which period we read of two hundred authors in England, one hundred and forty belonging to Oxford, and thirty to Cambridge. A period of declension both in numbers and spirit succeeds, which continues all through the fifteenth century. There is during this period the rise of the colleges, and a gradual improvement in wealth and stability; but the schools are no longer thronged with students. Whether it was the force of external causes, such as the wars of the roses, little enough favourable we should imagine to intellectual cultivation, or whether there was some deeper internal cause, we find that "in the year 1450, of two hundred schools only twenty were in use, and not a thousand students."\* But during all these centuries, from the rise of the Universities to the change of religion, amid vast fluctuations in numbers, and with cycles of advance or decay in spirit, we find a *system* of study inseparably linked with the unity of Christendom. Whether or no the Universities were in favour with the laity as places of general education, they were throughout the nurseries of the Church. They were "grounded in arts" which subserved the Church's authority; they had a faculty of jurisprudence which illustrated and classified the Church's canon law; and the theology which they taught was a system in the arrangement of which the keenest intellects and the most sanctified hearts had laboured under obedience to the Church, and ruled by the

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\* Wood, quoted by Huber, vol. I., 162.

spirit which presided over her, for five hundred years. *One* life pervaded Christendom, and the Universities were the high schools and laboratories of Christendom, in which though this life might at different periods be more or less vigorous and expansive, yet throughout it was ever one, and homogeneous. In those days at least "the trumpet gave no uncertain sound for battle," and this is the single point which it has been the scope of the above remarks to set forth.

But other times are coming. The eighth Henry has seen the light of the Gospel shine in Boleyn's eyes, and when the common Father of Christendom refused to pander to his lust, he has torn himself free from all authority, constituted himself the lord of his people's consciences, and attached to his earthly throne the supreme authority in Christ's kingdom. The Universities are commanded to reject that spiritual head, by whom during so many centuries their privileges had been increased and defended. In religious, as in worldly matters, there is no longer any limit to the despotism of the crown. The king may, if he please, confiscate their property and extinguish them. As it was he kept their privileges for ten years suspended in his hands. In the year 1535, he ordered a visitation of Oxford and Cambridge, in which the scholastic philosophy and theology, and the canon law, were expelled as inseparably connected with the Papal Supremacy. But what was put in their place? Let us hear the notices of Professor Huber in this matter, to whom we are indebted for the most learned and accurate account of the Universities. He is a German Protestant, and a friend of the Reformation pure and simple, and therefore far removed from any tendency to favour Catholic views. Describing this visitation as "one of the first acts of the crown as inheritor of the mitre," he says, "arbitrary indeed enough was the state of things when the Papal authority was annulled, and Church dogma was yet to be maintained with the greatest strictness."\* Notwithstanding, "the true doctrines of the Catholic Church were as earnestly recommended as the study of the classic languages and authors." Finally, "in Oxford in the year 1535, and in Cambridge in the year 1540, five Professorships—of The-

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\* Huber, vol. I. 251.



ology, Greek, Hebrew, Civil Law, and Medicine, were established and endowed with a yearly emolument of forty pounds. For Canon Law there was no place after the rupture with Rome. As far as regards philosophy, it would seem that in Oxford the whole subject was to be included in the sentence passed on the Scholastics: a matter in which Reformers and Classicists were agreed.”\*

“As the schism worked on and on, it of necessity exercised great influence upon the resources and position of the universities. Not only were their revenues plundered or clipt, but the caprice of the supreme power left it for a time in doubt whether they should exist at all, as far as their estates and property were concerned. The abolition of the monasteries, and the transfer of an immense mass of ecclesiastical property to the crown, to private persons, or secular corporations, must have acted directly upon the universities, first to diminish their numbers to a minimum; next to give over to the greatest misery many of those who remained.”† Passing on to the reign of Edward he says, “Whether the *omnipotence of the State* be or be not a Christian or a Protestant principle, this is at any rate the form which protestantism then assumed most distinctly in England. Political and worldly interest soon gained an entire preponderance over all questions of religion and of truth; with whatever sincerity the latter may have been pleaded at the beginning of the movement.”‡ “A royal commission was issued in 1549, with full power, for a thorough reform of the Universities, but the result was unsatisfactory to all parties. The *destructive* powers of this commission seem to have been enormous. Documents of the vanquished Church, Missals, Legends, writings strictly theological, Relics, Pictures or Images of Saints, Monuments, were burnt, broken, or degraded to the vilest uses. In the common ruin was inevitably involved all the literature of the middle ages, including both the poetry and the scholastic philosophy: for the limits between the latter and theology could not be defined, and the poetry was so impregnated with Popery, as to seem to carry the ‘mark of the beast’ on its face.”§ Its *constructive* powers were limited to enjoining with still greater earnest-

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\* Huber i. 255.

† Huber i. 258.

‡ Huber i. 269.

§ Huber i. 273.

ness the *classical* studies which the former visitation had encouraged. Yet all this while, "a decided majority of the academicians was in favor of the old religion, and this majority included the most learned men, and the best classic scholars."\* Passing over the short restoration of Mary, which replaced in the university "Scholastic Philosophy, Theology, and Canon Law," and whose "visitation in many respects honourably distinguished itself from the preceding visitation of the Reformers,"† let us go on to the state of things finally established by Elizabeth. Of course a fourth commission, issued at the beginning of her reign, proceeded to purify the universities from every thing incompatible with the new creed. Once again the old philosophy and the old theology and the study of the canon law were expelled. On the other hand, the thirty-nine articles were introduced, and became the standard of public teaching. The result is thus summed up by Huber. "At Oxford, it is certain that of the Academic studies, some were in complete decay, others were pursued in a shallow, spiritless manner, as a mere form; or at best in a popular way such as might suit dilettanti. The morals and sentiments of the Academic youth are described at the same time as having been in the highest degree wild, selfish, loose, devoid of all earnestness, honour, or piety. More serious still, however, are the notices before us concerning the older and more influential Academicians: in whom every hateful passion took the deeper root, and pervaded their whole life the more thoroughly, the less it was able to find vent in open violent expression. Compelled to preserve a certain outward dignity, in seeking either personal ends or party objects in Church or State; they had to maintain a close secrecy, or at least to adhere to measures which were ostensibly legal."‡ Wood himself says of his beloved Oxford in the year 1582, "Of the university itself I must report, that although it had lately made laws most salutary alike to religion and to learning, yet all its hopes were disappointed; as all these laws were almost by all parties, violated and neglected. There were few indeed to preach the word of God, or attend on preaching, although in

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\* Huber i. 278. † Huber i. 288.

‡ Huber, i. 324.

these times a great multitude of clergy left the parishes of which they were pastors, and came to Oxford, with more appetite for indolence and sloth, than for propagating the faith. To this was added the inactivity of the Academic Tutors, &c. To return to the gownsmen: they were so given to luxury as to outdo in dress the London Inns of Court, and even the Queen's levee; and were so swollen in mind, that scarcely the lowest of the low would yield precedence to graduates, or to persons on any ground superior to him. Shall I add that the public lectures in the Greek and Hebrew languages, as well as in Medicine, Law, and Theology, were very rarely held? In fine, if you look at the state of logic and philosophy, you will confess that the men of our time have degenerated from the teaching of their forefathers. All these things being duly weighed, it may be said that in Oxford itself you have to search after the Oxford University: so greatly has every thing changed for the worse."\* The picture is completed thus by Huber: "we cannot expect that other branches of the academic studies should flourish more than theology and arts, especially in such an age. Ecclesiastical law, properly speaking, existed no longer; for the Papal law was most severely forbidden, and the Protestant Church law, promised by Edward and Elizabeth, was for very intelligible grounds, never brought forward. Civil or Roman law, which had been much neglected before the Reformation, now pined just in proportion as Common or Statute Law thrived. Common Law, however, was not scientifically cultivated at Cambridge, or Oxford, and indeed had its head quarters at the supreme courts of justice in London." And, again, "of all the branches of learning, mental philosophy was perhaps the least favoured by the opinions of the times, in or out of the Universities. The reaction against the scholastic philosophy still prevailed in full vigour; and in giving up to oblivion as utterly worthless, all the exertions and acquisitions of half a millennium could not but be disadvantageous to philosophic culture."†

Contrasting then the state of the Universities after the changes introduced by Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth, with their state up to the year 1534, we find not merely a

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\* Quoted by Huber, i. 325.

† Huber i. 343, 347.

period of confusion, and individual distress, and temporary disorganization, which usually accompany great changes, but a radical and fundamental subversion of the highest faculty, theology; the expulsion or grievous maiming of the second faculty of law; and the reduction of the primary faculty of arts to the study of the Greek and Latin classics in Oxford, and to the mathematical sciences in Cambridge. For when the theology of the Fathers, drawn out, arranged, and illustrated by the great scholastic writers, and exhibited in the practice of the Church during so many hundred years, was summarily rejected and anathematised, and when the spiritual ruler, who had built up and maintained the unity of Christendom, was in England ignominiously dethroned, what religious system of teaching succeeded to the former? or who became the bond of religious union, instead of the latter? We do not know what answer can be made to this question, save that the *Summa Theologica* was deserted for the thirty-nine Articles, and the Triple Crown melted into a Queen's Diadem. The grand result of Tudor reform was a spiritual society capped with a temporal head: and a theology the beginning, middle, and end, of which was *compromise*, the fusion of antagonist principles, the latitude of contradictory ideas; a hierarchy retained, with its jurisdiction bestowed by the sovereign; authority claimed for the Church, with the express declaration that it had erred and might err again; and yet, at the same time, the Holy Scriptures declared to be the sole standard of faith, but the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures left to the individual mind. What heart or head was ever satisfied with this heap of contradictions? But to deny it, was hanging, drawing, and quartering. No wonder that from this time forward theology ceased to exist as a science. In the Elizabethan prayer book, the Catholic element was at least largely retained: no one doubts now, or ever has doubted, the thorough Protestantism of the articles: while in the junction and imposition of the two lay hid from the first a latitudinarian element, destined to be by far the strongest, and to neutralise both one and the other, sapping honesty, and deadening conscience, and tending from the first to the utter denial of dogmatic truth. We have seen the ultimate result of this in a religious profligacy, of which christianity in eighteen hundred years had presented no example: the supreme tribunal of a communion decid-

ing concerning a great doctrine, not that it must be held, nor that it must be denied, but that it may be either held or denied, the holders maintaining it to be an article of the faith, the deniers, a "soul-destroying heresy," and both continuing ministers in the same Church. And how well that supreme tribunal has estimated the spirit which animates the communion over which it presides, is shown by the fact that but very few have refused, by their acts, to submit to such a decision.

There was then from the beginning this inherent impossibility that a theology could exist after the Elizabethan university reform, because theology requires thinking, and "no member of the establishment can believe in a *system* of theology of any kind, without doing violence to the formularies. Those only go easily along them and the prayer book, who do not think:" for assuredly, "there is no lying, or standing, or sitting, or kneeling, or stooping there, in any possible attitude, but, as if in the tyrant's cage, when you would rest your head, your legs are forced out between the articles, and when you would relieve your back, your head strikes against the Prayer book."\*

Nor is this a mere theoretical statement of what ought to have been, from the heterogeneous and piebald constitution of a religious system in which the original basis was Catholic, the superinduced distinctive tenets Protestant, and the spirit which joined both together secular and latitudinarian. Not only *ought* there to have been no science of theology known in the Anglican establishment, and in the universities which are its high schools, from the year 1559 to the present, but there *has been none*. Professor Huber has, with the most exemplary diligence, followed every generation up to the year 1840, and whether in the Calvinism which was dominant during the reign of Elizabeth, or in the soi-disant patristic school of Laud and Andrews, or in the period following the Restoration, when the Prayer Book seemed to be in the ascendant, or in the long decline inaugurated by the Revolution, which some have termed the definitive triumph of Protestantism, a consistent and coherent theology is equally wanting. So continuous a result under external circumstances so varying points to an inherent cause in the nature of things.

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\* Newman on Difficulties of Anglicanism. p. 25, 137.

The State, disgusted with a religion which it could not shape and manage at its pleasure, and which kept repeating to it, "the things of Cæsar to Cæsar, but the things of God to God," had put together, under its own headship something which was to serve for a moral police. Now policemen are to *act*, not to *think*. Their superior requires of them *obedience*, not *learning*; at the best, administrative energy is the highest virtue of instruments. The *divine right of kings* was that which held the fabric together—what had they to do with the *Holy Ghost dwelling in the Church*? His inspiration was, indeed, claimed for that first Prayer Book, which lasted a year and a half; perhaps its fleeting duration advised them to be more cautious in future; or at least, to limit His assistance to the royal counsels, which, however much they might *change*, were sure to *prevail*. Thus of the *morale* of Elizabeth's reign Huber writes: "The principal energies of the government were exerted in clearing between the extremes of each party, a large neutral space, in which the majority could conveniently move about. But in effecting this object, every moral principle was set at nought, and every crooked path of state-expediency was trodden." "In the appointment to Church benefices, more especially, the pecuniary interest of the secular patrons and their families prevailed to such a degree, that this alone might have sufficed to bring about that lamentable condition, moral, religious, and intellectual, of the mass of the ministers of the state Church, of which we have only too credible testimony. In fact, precisely the best and worthiest members of the Catholic Church had been compelled to quit the ministry, and sacrifice their worldly interest to their convictions; while, among the Protestant ministers, those whose inward calling was the strongest, were forced by the secularization of the ruling Church into a sectarian position, which excluded them from her service, and sometimes altogether from academic life. This being the condition of the *Church*, it is not wonderful that we find the great mass of those connected with *school* instruction, in the highest degree neglected and corrupted, morally and intellectually."\* Treating of the "moral and spiritual characteristics of the Episcopal Church in the seventeenth

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\* Huber, i. 340.



century," Huber says: "In entering on this subject, we are first struck by the little attention paid to intellectual interests, in comparison to those of religious party."\* The principal object of the day was to harmonise the Universities according to the principles then ruling in the Church and State; and yet more to fit them to diffuse an education which should engender and support those principles. But more to Laud, of all men, is due the extinction of scientific theology. Huber describes the imperative necessity which his situation laid upon him of acting against what must have been his own turn of mind. "Theology might have been expected, in the midst of the ecclesiastical storms of the day, to have grown up a vigorous, though a onesided, plant. Within the limits of formal orthodoxy, as theoretically recognised by the Anglican Church, there was both room and material for constructing a stately building of learning: but we can find none such at the Universities. Not that the isolated and literary efforts of divines were either uninfluential, or without merit; but there was no systematic and scientific exposition of the doctrines of the Anglican Church, nay, nor any rudiments of such a thing, under the recognition of either Oxford or Cambridge. This deficiency is the more striking, the higher were the pretensions of those in power, to the glory of restoring the Church, and the greater their activity or success in its outward and moral reform. *Certainly the authorities of this period must bear the heavy responsibility of having excluded theological studies from the Universities for many generations.* After Leicester's profligate government, (he was Chancellor of Oxford from 1565 to 1587,) a decisive crisis at length came on under the era of Laud, when the course of divinity was of necessity to be either excluded or reformed, and it is impossible now to deny that destruction, not reconstruction, took place. Nor is this hard to explain. Eagerness for external conformity often gives a premium to hypocrisy; and Laud, with the prelates and the whole party, while substantially Armenian, had to pay deference to the substantially Calvinistic system of the thirty-nine Articles. They might honourably have determined on one of three things; either to profess Arminianism, and openly eject Calvinism; or profess Cal-

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\* Huber, ii. 29.

vinism, and openly eject Arminianism; or openly embrace both into the Church, declaring the controversy to be a matter, not for dogmatic decision, but for free learned enquiry. But they did none of the three. They chose to retain the letter of the Church formulas in its integrity; and so far from avowing Arminianism, treated as offensive its avowal by others. How, then, could they propound any learned and systematic course of theology at the Universities? How would they have been able to evade, within the schools themselves, a shock of battle which they must have sincerely judged to be most pernicious? Not that men are definitely conscious of such thoughts; nor make up clear reasons in themselves for what they do or leave undone: the inherent necessities of their position urge them, as if by instinct, along the track. And if the stormy times are pleaded in excuse for these failures, the fact must still not be forgotten, that Laud and his adherents are the men who effected that complete abolition of *scientific theology*, which is to this day so deeply marked a feature in the English Universities." "The Royal ordinances of Jan. 16, 1629 seem wilfully to have aimed at stopping all theological discussion, even arguments on the side of orthodoxy, for fear of stimulating thought and feeling on the subject." "Theology, then, even in the most limited Anglican sense, could no more flourish as an academic study, than jurisprudence or medicine. It is a sign of the times that the three higher faculties are not mentioned as faculties in the new (i. e. the Laudian) statutes, although they are pre-supposed as branches of study. At an earlier period traces are to be found of an effort after corporate organization of the faculties; but henceforth it vanished." \*

Let us pass to the totally different outward state of things in the eighteenth century. Here we find "an entire neglect of the studies connected with the higher faculties," and that while Jurists and Medical students went to the capital or elsewhere, "the aspirants in divinity were left altogether to their own impulse, and to private study. Academic life offered no stimulus whatever in this direction. An individual might aim as high as he pleased, but the University took no cognisance of his exertions:

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\* Huber, ii. 63, 70.

according to its standard they were supererogatory.”\* Then, after observing that the religious state of the Universities during the last century appears much more unfavourable than the moral, of which however he has drawn any but a pleasing picture, he continues, “nor was there any counter influence to be derived from the vigorous effort of religious instruction of a scientific character; for the theological studies were completely null.”† “The English Universities scarcely possessed or offered the very scantiest means for the studies in Law, Medicine, and Divinity, or for the foundations of the science of State economy. The philological and mathematical branches appear to be the only exception, inasmuch as the Universities offer every means for rendering those who devote themselves to these two branches real and most learned schoolmasters.”‡ And the result as to theology was, that after acquiring the character of a “gentleman” by a liberal, i. e. an university education, “Sound common sense, a knowledge of the world and of mankind, respectability and dignity of manner, with an understanding of the rules and ordinances of the Church, are looked upon as the best *pastoral* theology. The literature *necessary* for the dignified clergyman was only the new testament in the original tongue, the old testament in a translation with a commentary, some exposition of the thirty-nine articles, a few popular theological works, and some few collections of sermons.”§

Lastly, of the present state of studies in the Faculties, that is up to the year 1840, Huber says, “From all this it is clear that it is as little possible now, as it was in the last century, to think of forming oneself as Theologian, Jurist, Economist, or Physician, by help of the public instruction at Oxford or Cambridge. And in fact all that can be said with respect to these departments in England is, that whatever is known in them is gathered otherwise than in the course of the *university* studies; by practice in life, by private study, private instruction, or even by teaching.”||

What is the judgment which a foreigner, a philosophical bystander, strange to our religious parties, and moreover a protestant, passes as to the *prima mali labes*, which

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\* Huber ii. 302.

† Huber ii. 317.

‡ Huber, ii. 319.

§ Huber, ii. 341.

|| Huber ii. 377.

tainted the very spring of theological science in England? "The chief source," he says, "of these defilements of the Anglican Church appears to be *its connexion with the State*; or else with Royalty, that is to say, *with the King, and Court*. This connexion arose out of the course taken by the Reformation in England; which established on principle that the highest powers of the Church must be decisively vested in the Crown. If the evils which afterwards occurred did not *inevitably* proceed from this heterogeneous union, they were at least very much promoted by the manifold abuses and mistakes connected with it."\*

Thus the actual history of the Anglican universities in the last three centuries entirely corroborates the view which the Elizabethan religious settlement of itself suggests. In that wonderful product of state-craft the doctrines of the old religion and the new—the principles of authority and of private judgment—the sacramental system and justification by faith only—a visible Church, and Calvinism—respect for antiquity and a bran-new constitution—were violently squeezed together by the whole weight of the civil power. Take that weight away, and the entire building would fall to pieces. But grievous as the tyranny was which then lay upon the conscience of England, it could not prevent a most violent war of parties, opposed to each other as light and darkness, which has been perpetuated to the present day. Puritan and Episcopalian struggled for mastery in the days of Elizabeth, and the issue of that contest in the time of Charles wrecked the vessel of the State itself. Non-juror and Establishmentarian continued the fight after the Revolution, and High Church and Low Church, succeeding them, after casting out Wesley, and forming a new schism in the middle of the last century, in our own days have developed into the Oxford movement on the one hand, the most defined expression of the Catholic element which Anglicanism has borne, and into Evangelicalism on the other, the proper end of puritanism, the denial of a formal creed, and of a visible Church, of altar and of sacrament: while that deadly principle which lurked in the violent pairing together of these two opposite beliefs at the beginning, has at length shewn itself with

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\* Huber-ii. 30.

no common power and energy in the party which bears the name of Dr. Arnold: a party which the State, with the natural love of a parent for its offspring, welcomes and fosters. All these have subsisted and do subsist together—of all these the disciples and representatives—with a hundred shades of variation—are to be found at the Universities: of all these the Universities are the common instructresses. How could a Theology spring out of so deadly an antagonism of first principles?

And one thing more must be added. Theology cannot grow up save where a true, living, consistent authority exists: one which claims and receives the willing obedience of heart and mind and conscience. Now true though it be that the legal subjection of the Anglican Church to the State is complete, that the chains have been riveted too firmly to be torn asunder without entire destruction, yet not a single member of that Church can be found, whatever his private belief, who yields obedience in heart, or mind, or conscience to *such* an authority. Nobody can believe, nobody affects to believe, in a lay Papacy, lodged in a royal privy council. The communion which lives under it—the clergy which hold livings, canonries, deaneries, and bishoprics, in virtue of obedience to it—respect its sentence as little as that of the chief mufti of Constantinople. Moreover, one such authority alone exists in the world by the institution of Christ, His last and best and crowning gift, which should turn His very departure into a blessing, and it is lodged in the *whole* Church, in the *living*, not in the *dead historical* Church; it dwells not in each member, but in the body. So that were a branch church ever so normally constituted, as to the succession and as to the faith, this supreme and final authority it never could possess. And accordingly it could as little possess a theology, which is the code of belief sanctioned by such an authority. Under that authority the Catholic Church does possess a vast and varied structure of dogmatic and moral theology, consistent in all its parts, worked out by the labours and prayers of saints and doctors, in so many centuries, through the inspiration of that One Spirit who is pleased to dwell in the Church. Without that authority, and subject to a mock lay Papacy, the Anglican Church, at the end of the third centenary of her existence, has advanced so far in theology as to have no doctrine on the very first act of the Christian life, Holy

Baptism. "From him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he seemeth to have."

But what has then been the staple of instruction given at the Universities since that great religious revolution by which the Scholastic Philosophy and the Catholic Theology were expelled? It was necessary to find some neutral ground on which the studies might be conducted, and the new passion which arose at the beginning of the sixteenth century for the learned languages and classic literature suggested at Oxford that they might fill the gap, while at Cambridge an original predilection for the mathematical sciences, carried in after times to the highest pitch by the great genius who arose there, caused these to be selected as the main instrument of education. Three centuries ago the choice was much more restricted than at present. The Baconian philosophy had not yet arisen: the inductive sciences were not even in their infancy. In our own days a crowd of competitors are knocking for admission, urging their claim, and pointing to England's wonderful development of power and glory as due to the vigour with which they have been prosecuted by private research and energy, unendowed by university patronage, unassisted by the magnificent foundations of our ancestors. Geography, geology, mineralogy, botany, and every branch of natural philosophy: jurisprudence and political economy: trade, manufactures, and statistics: this fertile progeny of the novum organon, not to mention a host of modern languages, burst upon our bewildered youth, and threaten to exhaust, or to dissipate on variety of objects, the energies of a life, under the claim to train an education. But the choice was much more restricted when the present bent of our universities was taken, and from that time to this, while the higher faculties of Theology, Law, and Medicine became a mere name, the real education given consisted in a limited course of the Faculty of Arts, comprising in Oxford the Greek and Latin languages, and the Aristotelian philosophy in some small degree: and in Cambridge the mathematical sciences.

But where, in the mean time, were the ecclesiastical training schools of the Anglican Church? Till a very late period it had none other than Oxford and Cambridge: and at this moment the great mass of its clergy have no other qualification for their sacred office than the course of



about three years which they pass at these Universities, and a few lectures subsequently, so trifling in number, and affecting the pupil's tone of mind and character so little, as hardly to enter into computation. The future clergyman's mind for good or for evil may be said to be formed at Oxford and Cambridge; there at the most important period of life his habits are moulded: there he passes from the constraint of school to almost the freedom of manhood: there the bias is received which will probably only be confirmed in future years: and thence he passes, always with a very brief interval, and sometimes with none at all, to the performance of his sacred functions. What the episcopal seminaries are in Catholic countries to the students for the priesthood, that Oxford and Cambridge are to the Anglican ordinandi. They are emphatically the '*formaculi Anglicani*,' and they act upon the youthful mind probably with a force far greater than that of any seminary, because, instead of a small number collected within the walls of one building, they contain the very flower and bloom of a great nation, of unexampled energy and industry, now in the spring-tide of worldly renown and material power. In such a society the tone and character which prevail—the impulses which with electrical agency charge the air—have a far greater force, a far more living effect, than any dry, material rules: the free-will, which often exerts itself against the latter, expands and exults in the former, and grows into them with all the energy of its being. All those who have passed through Oxford or Cambridge will know how they tell upon the mind. Those few years' sojourn leave an ineffaceable something on the gayest and most thoughtless, and the effects on the character of the intercourse which there takes place are often more valued by parents than any amount of information which the most industrious could attain.

These, then, are the ecclesiastical training schools for the great mass of the Anglican clergy, for there are none other: and therefore it is fair to compare them in this particular point of view with Catholic training schools, which otherwise it would not be fair to do, for the course of Arts in an University does not naturally comprehend special instruction in Theology, dogmatic, moral, or pastoral, and as little formation of ecclesiastical character. But these are either given here, or they are not given at all, to Anglicans. Moreover, the faculty of Theology which

nominally exists, is, and has been for three hundred years, as we have shown, a nonentity.

The efficiency of ecclesiastical schools would seem to consist partly in forming those inward habits, partly in conveying that special knowledge, which are needed for the clerical life and mission. It is of the utmost importance to the Church that her ministers in both these respects should be long and carefully adapted for the extraordinary and unworldly duties which they have to perform. Secular education is no more like clerical education, than the world is like the Church. Let us see how in these respects the chief and prime University of England, the more especial nursery of the Anglican Church, the citadel of her strength, and the chosen seat of her spirit, discharges its high office.

Behold the choicest of her youth from the richest country in the world, in the noon-day of her prosperity, out of the princely palaces of her nobility, out of the stately homes of her gentry, from her myriad of smiling parsonages, such as no other realm can boast, from mansions which commerce has reared and enriched with the costliest productions of sea and land, are met together in that ancient city of study. Eton, and Winchester, Harrow and Rugby, the Charter-House and Westminster, and hundreds of other schools have furnished their quota to swell this tide of life and energy. With dispositions as dissimilar as their aims and objects in life—as wealth or comparative want, early habits of luxury or of keen exertion, create—some for the senate, some for the bar, some for other learned professions, for arms, or for trade, some for enjoyment of country life, but a large majority for the ministry of the Church, they are drawn within the same walls, to submit for a time to a common discipline, to pursue common studies, to join in common sports. Gaze on them, and you will recognize the imperial Anglo-Saxon race, whose very merchants “hold the gorgeous East in fee, And are the safeguards of the West;” there is stuff of firm texture, out of which the world may be planted with self-governing colonies, the sea subdued, and the earth made one vast emporium of buying and selling: or, if need be, a Trafalgar or a Waterloo be won. They are of those born “*parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.*” Independence, self-confidence, individuality of mind, shows itself in all their demeanour. It is true the college chapel and the college lecture receive

all alike; though some more frequently than others: and all sleep—unless college porters and scouts are corruptible—within the same walls. And the great poets, historians, and orators of Greece and Rome, and above all, he, whom mediæval times called with affectionate reverence the Master, are appointed for their most grateful occupation; and during their sojourn here they are to live in the thoughts of the great spirits of antiquity, expressed in their own incomparable languages. Something, no doubt, of Latin majesty, something of Greek harmony and genius, some voices from Salamis, some echoes of the Forum, will reach every spirit which is not quite *ἀμουσος*. But some are here for none of these things. Already of high rank and ample fortune, they live at least only in the tone and society of the place, even if they are not sent specially for these. They are devoted to the morning lounge, the afternoon ride, and the evening supper. Others are more or less widely affected by their example. Many are tempted to imitate a profusion which in their case has no excuse, nothing to redeem it from the most miserable folly. Again, many have a bent of mind so turned away from the above-mentioned studies, that they never enter into them with spirit, and relinquish the prospect of distinction in them. But the great point of all this is, that here the world has entered with a spring tide; not, indeed, a world with engrained habits of evil and hard-heartedness, but a world with all its powers of dissipation, spreading its thousand subtle influences around youth, and teaching them its own standard of things. A few years pass, and the majority of those who are now, if most industrious, studying Aristotle, Thucydides, and Tacitus, with an occasional boat-match or cricket-match, a grave after-dinner party or a more lively supper, who are urged to the utmost by the desire of renown, and whose motive principle is *αἰεὶν ἀριστέειν καὶ υπεῖροχον ἔμμεναι ἀλλων*, will be scattered far and wide over the country, preaching to corrupted towns and semi-heathen villages the cross of Him "Who was despised and rejected of men, the very scorn of men, and the outcast of the people." What we would ask is, how and when, in the whole of that academical course—which as a system of secular instruction, if it has many defects, we yet most gratefully acknowledge has many excellencies—how and when is that all-important question of *vocation* brought before those, who, this course ended, are to take

upon themselves the awful burden of the Christian ministry? It is a fair question, for this academic course they go through as the chief qualification for orders. Now at what time in it—by what studies in it—by what persons—is this *vocation* brought before each individual? The course of studies in its main range is secular, even heathen. All the positive instruction in divinity given is lectures on the Articles: but we are not now so much speaking of instruction, as of bringing home to the conscience with all possible effect the peculiar duties, the peculiar qualifications, of those who are to “bind up the broken-hearted,” and bear the standard of the cross in the world. Here are a mixed mass of young men, those who are to continue laymen, those who are to become ecclesiastics, pursuing a common course of studies in the dead languages, and in the heathen authors; and the bond between Tutors and Pupils is not ecclesiastical, but academical. Lectures are given, not consciences directed. No doubt open immorality is discountenanced: non-attendance at chapel is punished. But the inward being of the pupil, the real man, remains during all these three years a complete mystery to the tutor, into which he does not even attempt to enter. As for an effort to ascertain that there is any real bent to the ecclesiastical state, any real endeavour to lead a pure and holy life, to avoid sins of thought, to mortify worldliness, it is never made. It would be out of character to make it: an ungentlemanly inroad on privacy. The tutor’s relation to his pupil is both far too external, and far too secular, nor has this a direct bearing on the schools for which the pupil is immediately studying, all important as its bearing is on that future life for which honours in the schools are sought. We should say that the subject of *vocation* as distinct from a decent moral life, is one which probably never occurs to the student from the beginning to the end of his academical life. We do not mean that he does not consider the subject of a *profession*, quite the contrary; as the young military man looks forward to a commission, and the lawyer to being called to the bar, so the future ecclesiastic contemplates taking orders. Thus he weighs the matter, and sometimes already has an eye to the future partner of his possible parsonage. But a man may be qualified to become a good lawyer, a good officer, a good merchant, and the rest, and moreover a good Christian in all these, who, becoming

with such dispositions a clergyman, would not only be a very bad minister, but probably a very bad Christian.

And next in importance to *vocation* is the *formation of tone and character*, and the inner spiritual life. This cannot be omitted, like vocation, for good or bad it must be, and of perpetual growth. And in this, as we have hinted above, our Universities have great force, and a most living energy, on account of the extent and the various classes from which they gather their pupils. They tell, because they are so worldlike and so worldwide. But *how* do they tell? In what way will that busy swarm of active youth—that medley of the richest and noblest, the dissipated and worldly, with the keen anxious student—they to whom learning is valueless, and they to whom learning is all in all—those who look to professions and those who look to the Church—be moulded? One thing is plain, they will be moulded according to this world, and not according to that which is to come. Here the studies are secular: the bond between tutor and pupil is secular: the society is secular: what is highest and what is lowest, the idleness and the study, the ambition and the sloth, are secular. The end of the *first class* is honour, distinction, and advantage: the end of the boat-race, the revel, and the chase, is pleasure: the end of the mass between, who neither gain classes nor commit dissipation, is gentlemanliness. Now honour, pleasure, and gentlemanliness are equally secular. Youth is seduced and seducing: rank and fashion are attractive: study is engrossing, and honour absorbing: and here all these have not a college but an University for their field: not the gleanings of a class, but the pick of a nation, for their food and range. Alas for the young ecclesiastic! the world, the world, the world is upon him before he is aware: by his warmest sympathies, by his most natural tastes, by the force of example, by the challenge of renown, it enthral him. What is left for Christ? What are the forces here at work? Among those who do not study, pride of wealth and birth, fashion and custom, expensive habits fostered by a system of almost unlimited credit: among those who do study, emulation, the more intense, since as Greece looked upon her Olympian games and rewarded the winners, so England looks on those who win at her Universities, and welcomes them to the more real trials of life. Nor probably does any applause of listening senates so thrill through the speaker's

frame as the moment which places the young academician high in the class list: nor is there any struggle of after life so sustained and urgent as that which gains for him those first well-won laurels of Alma Mater. Can it then be vain-glory, which has cost so much, which is gained so hardly, which has seemed to be so encouraged by partial voices at home, by superiors here so eager for the honour of their college, that conquest almost seemed virtue, and failure quite a crime? And so that pleasing poison of praise has run into and infected the whole being. How will it brook hereafter the obscurity of a country village, the reforming of clownish minds, the stirring up of consciences sunk in the pettifogging of daily trade, the converse of those "whose talk is of oxen?" Is not a certain love of ease and refinement, a taste for well-furnished rooms and comfortable sofas, a keen voluptuous enjoyment of literature, and, most markedly, an indisposition to suffering, and a calculation of virtue by worldly success, generated in the higher class of minds by such an education? Should we expect such to be ready to inhale fevers over sick beds, or teach the first articles of the creed to the children of ignorance?

But daily habits are the best indication of the inner spiritual life, which they so deeply affect. And what are the daily habits of Oxford, especially in regard to devotion? How much and how often is the unseen world of the Christian's hopes and fears brought before the youthful mind? Attendance at the daily morning prayers, usually at eight o'clock, is enjoined: in many colleges this is imperative, being used as a security against sleeping out, as exit is not allowed before then. In others attendance in the evening is allowed instead. But what are those morning prayers? Surely a more formal service was never devised, nor one in which there is less worship of body and soul. But to know and feel to what degree that which is of itself stiff and formal can be made lifeless and perfunctory, as the voice of a parish beadle or the crier of a court, that service must be heard day after day with its stereotyped exhortation, its unbending monotony through fast-day and festival, from the mouth of chaplain or tutor, with its lessons gabbled by the scholar, who seems to fear that he shall utter the words of Scripture with too much decency, or too little unintelligibility. When this half-hour is over breakfast succeeds, and then two, or, it may be, three lectures with the tutor on some Greek or Latin writer. The later afternoon



passes in recreation. Dinner about five reunites the students in their several halls: after which they "wine" with each other. Tea follows, before which there is chapel, which all may, and some do, attend a second time: and then the more studious prepare for the morrow. It will be seen how large a disposal of his own time is left to each: how very much for good or ill he is independent of all control. But is any examination of the spiritual state daily, weekly, or monthly, inculcated? No such thing is thought of. It is matter for the private conscience. Of course if the natural piety of the individual lead him to it, if parent or master have previously drawn him to practise it, he may continue it; but the college never enters into any such matter, and far less the University. True it is that once in the Term each is called upon to attend the Holy Communion; but in what state he comes to it is left wholly to himself. He has been brought up to think that over the internal world of his thoughts no one ought to have the slightest control. How should any one? He was never brought to confession even before his first communion: he was never told there was any such duty. And to whom should he confess? Where is the place for it, or the time, or the person? He does not hear that his college tutors, if they are priests, are in the habit of receiving confessions, or, indeed, have been instructed how to do so. When he entered the college its superior never told him it was a duty: in fact he does not see any of his comrades practising it, at least openly. Most probably the notion never occurs to him at all. In the meantime the Sunday on which Holy Communion is administered is approaching. He wishes it was not, but he does not know how to escape. He feels so perfectly well that he can't feign indisposition. He has a sort of unreasoned conviction that he is not at all fit to go: he is quite sure he would rather not go. Then a few evenings since he drank rather too much at supper: and the songs sung strike him, as he thinks of it, to have been a little too free. Well, if there be not more than thoughts of evil recklessness indulged, more than a throng of idle words and careless actions. What a bore it is that these tutors will have this every Term, and look for every one to attend. But, however, he cannot post himself to the college as an immoral person, and to his own knowledge half his friends are as ill prepared as himself. So he goes. In another year such an one may be, and has

full often been, in Deacon's orders, with the partial care of a parish: and as he went to first communion, and to every communion since, without submitting his spiritual state to any guide, so he has entered into holy orders without enquiry made into his vocation, the Bishop supposing that the solemn appeal addressed to him by the Prayer-book, "Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this office and ministration?" is sufficient guarantee that the conscience has been examined and the vocation ascertained by each for himself. What else can we expect when confession has been made what is called "voluntary," that is entirely disused by men and women, young and old, ninety-nine out of a hundred: when the hundredth practises it under the rose, and with the stigma of being popishly inclined? In such a state of things it would be an insult to suppose that the student at college, or the candidate for orders, needed any enquiry into his spiritual state. At least no one is competent to make it, for he is clear of all open immorality, and, approaching either Holy Communion or orders, who has a right to suggest what would be a sort of token of suspicion? But what sort of supervision of the inward life of his people will a minister so educated and prepared be competent to take? His own heart from his childhood up has been left a wilderness, in which first self-will, and then the passions, ranged at pleasure: no fatherly voice has warned him of the commencements of sin: no skilful physician probed the depth of corruption, arrested the disease, and applied the remedy. How can he do for others what has never been done for himself? In what will consist his "*Cure* of souls?

And here we must remark in passing, that among the daily habits of University life, there is no note whatever of mortification or the ascetic principle, as good for the Christian in general, or in any respect necessary to the minister. We are all familiar with that excellent tutor immortalized in "*Loss and Gain*," who astonished his college servant by ordering no sweet sauce to his plain joint of mutton on a fast day. This however is below the mark, and we are sure that many a "*Head*" would consider the absence of the sauce a most suspicious circumstance on any day which the calendar marked as fast or vigil; and the present Bishop of Hereford proved at least his orthodoxy, if he did not add to his existing claims on a mitre, by having a

sort of ball on an ember day. Not that the contrary tone of mind does not exist, but then it is individual, and in spite, not in consequence, of the habits of the place.

Now compare in these three points, the formation of daily habits, the cultivation of the inner spiritual life, and the ascertaining of vocation, what is done for Catholic students at a seminary. Let us take them in the inverted order. Here is the course of a day's study and devotion at S. Sulpice.

"5 a. m. They rise; recite the 'Angelus,' (Angelic Salutation.) 5 to 5½. Dress, come down stairs; the most pious go for two or three minutes before the Holy Sacrament.

5½ to 6½. Vocal prayer for ten minutes, and then prayer for the rest of the hour, each by himself, kneeling, without support.

The Professor says his prayer aloud, in order to teach the pupils, on his knees, in the hall.

6½ to 7. Mass: those who have communicated attend another mass for returning thanks, which may last to 7½. The rest mount to their rooms.

7. Reading of Holy Scripture in private.

8 to 8½. Breakfast: dry bread, wine and water; nothing else allowed, save that, in case of necessity, milk or soup is sometimes given. Each reads in private.

8½ to 9½. Preparation of the logical lesson in their rooms.

9½ to 10½. Lesson in theology. Morale.

10½ to 10¾. Visit to the Holy Sacrament.

10¾ to 11½. Deacons have a lesson in theology; the rest a singing lesson for half-an-hour, and then go up to their rooms.

11½ to 12. Private examination of conscience. During seven minutes meditation, kneeling, on some fact of the New Testament; and for the next seven Tronson read.

12 to 12½. Dinner. For three minutes a chapter of the Old Testament read aloud, then the life of a saint, or ecclesiastical history. They end with the Roman Martyrology for the morrow. Then a visit to the Holy Sacrament for a minute: recitation of the Angelus.

Dinner consists of a little soup; one dish of meat, potatoes, or 'legumes.' For dessert, an apple, or such like. Drink, wine and water.

12½ to 1¼. Recreation. At 12½ talking is allowed for the first time in the day. Letters are delivered. The Professors are bound by their rule to take their recreations with their pupils; they make a great point of this.

1¼. Recitation of the 'Chaplet': sixty-three Paters and Aves.

2 to 3½. Private study in their rooms. From 2 to 3½ class of ecclesiastical singing four times a week. From 2 to 5¼ adoration of the Holy Sacrament by each person for half-an-hour.

- 3½ to 4½. Theological class. Dogma.  
 4½ to 4¾. Visit to the Holy Sacrament.  
 5½ or 5¾. According to the season, bell for all in holy orders to say their breviary. Time for conferences.  
 6½ to 7. 'Glose,'—spiritual reading by the Superior.  
 7 to 7½. Supper. One dish of meat, 'legumes,' salad, wine and water. Reading at all meals. Talking never allowed but at the Archbishop's visit once a year. A chapter of the New Testament read; a verse of the Imitation of Jesus Christ.  
 7½. They go before the Holy Sacrament; recite the Angelus.  
 7½ to 8½. Recreation.  
 8½ to 8¾. Evening prayers; litanies, vocal, with private examination of conscience. Mount straight to their rooms, or go just before the Holy Sacrament. The Superior remains in his place: each, in passing beside him, accuses himself of any outward faults committed during the day against the rules.  
 9 to 9½. Bed-time; at 9½ to be in bed. Each has a room to himself; a table, a bed, a candlestick, and fire-place. A priest sleeps in each corridor.\*

Such a course of daily occupation speaks a volume by itself. We note in it three hours and a half given to devotion: eight and three quarters to study: four to meals and recreation. But what a cultivation of reverence to our Lord's eucharistic Presence! What a perpetual realizing of the Incarnation through that most loving and awful mystery! The whole day seems brooded over by it, as though they were walking beside the lake of Galilee, listening to our Lord's parables, and gazing up into His face.

Secondly, what are the means taken to cultivate and foster that inner spiritual life, the most precious of all qualifications for the Priesthood?

"They confess themselves every week, ordinarily in the morning during the meditation. They choose their own confessor among the masters, who are at present twelve, but the number is not fixed. As to communicating, they are free, but are exhorted to do it *often*. Often is all the Sundays and festivals. Some communicate, besides, two, three, four, five times a week, especially as the time of their ordination draws near. The priests every day. After the communion twenty minutes' 'action de grâces.' On entering the seminary a general confession of the whole past life is made. At the commencement of each year, after the vacation, in October, a confession of the year is made. At the beginning of each month there is a retreat for one day, ordinarily the first Sunday. *Direction* is twice a month. It is intercourse between each young man and his director for the purpose of making known his inward state. There is a

\* Allies' Journal in France, p. 30-1.

general retreat after the vacation for eight days; in this no visits are allowed; no letters received; no going out into the city. There are recreations, but the rest of the day is consecrated to prayer, to confession, and to sermons. Each has his own rule, (*règlement particulier*), which he draws up in concert with his confessor.

"The day, the hour, and the mode of using the following exercises, to be determined on with the director. Private examination of oneself. Confession. Holy Communion. Direction. The monthly retreat. La monition, (which consists in making known to him who has charged us with that office of charity his imperfections and external defects contrary to Christian and ecclesiastical virtues). Any special reading. Accessory studies.

"What has been determined on by the director, relatively to the preceding exercises, is to be written in the '*règlement particulier*' of each.

"The main resolution necessary to ensure the fruits of the seminary is fidelity to the '*règlement*,' and especially to silence at the prescribed times, and to the holy employment of one's time.

"The virtues to be studied are collectedness, the thought of the presence of God, modesty and good example, charity and humility, religion, and fervour in the exercises of piety.

"The order of exercises for a day in the annual retreat is as follows:

"5 a. m. Rise; preparation for prayer; short visit to the Most Holy Sacrament.

5½. Prayer.

6½. Messe de communauté.

7. Preparation for general confession, or for that of the annual review, and especially for that of the time spent in the vacation.

8. Breakfast.

8½. Petites heures.

8½. Reading or direction.

9½. Visit to the Holy Sacrament.

9½. 'Entretien.'

10½. 'Délassement,' during which there may be either reading or direction.

11. Writing of one's resolutions, and then reading the prescribed chapters of Holy Scripture.

11½. Private examination.

12. Dinner, followed by the Angelus and recreation.

1½. Vespers and Compline, recollecting of oneself, to examine how one has done the morning's exercises.

2½. Reading, with meditation of the chapters of the Imitation.

3½. Visit to the Holy Sacrament.

3½. 'Entretien.'

4½. Matins and Lauds: writing of resolutions. Then 'délassement,' as in the morning at 10½.

6. Recitation of 'chapelet,' meditated.

- 6½. A spiritual lecture.
7. Supper, followed by the Angelus and recreation.
- 8½. Prayer; examination of conscience.
9. Bed; making preparation for (the morning's) prayer.\*

In the "picture" which is given to each student as a general summary of the objects to be aimed at, he is told that,

"The object of the monthly retreat is, 1. More deeply to examine the conscience; 2. To make firmer resolutions for the correction of faults; 3. To choose the most effective means to advance in virtues, and specially to be confirmed in the life of faith, and in contempt of the world, by a serious preparation for death.

"In order to profit by this exercise, the seminarist sets before him the following considerations:

"1. To learn his ruling and oftenest recurring fault; for instance, love of the world, and its pleasures; sloth, and want of application to his duties; fear of humiliations; inclination to slander, and unfavourable judgment of his neighbours; liking for his own will, and opposition to obedience.

"2. To search into the causes of lukewarmness and slackness; habitual heedlessness: little preparation for prayer and attendance on sacraments; frivolous reading and conversation; indisposition for and want of openness in direction; irresolution in complete surrender to God, in avoiding slight faults, and in seeking the society of the most earnest.

"3. To examine the most necessary virtue, and pursue the practices fitted to acquire it; to meditate seriously on the necessity of obedience, humility, self-denial, charity, good example, in the holy ministry.

"4. To write down his feelings and resolutions, communicate them to his director, and read them over frequently."†

Thirdly, as to vocation, besides that it is a subject perpetually recurring in this system of inward discipline, on which no one can enter, and in which, still less, can any one persevere, without a severe trial of it, there is yet a last and crowning test.

"There are, moreover, retreats for eight days before each ordination. Exposition of the pontifical is given. Before the ordination of any individual is decided on, there are two 'appeals' to be gone through. 1st, That of outward conduct; 2nd, That of inward conduct.—If these are passed, there is a third examination of himself and his fitness for the ministry to be gone through by the pupil in private. Fourthly, if he is thoroughly persuaded of his

\* Journal, p. 32—5.

† Journal, p. 379.



vocation, his confessor finally decides whether he shall be accepted for the ministry or rejected.”\*

It is plain that in tone and spirit, and in the standard set before the student, no two lives can be more opposed than that of a candidate for the Anglican ministry at Oxford, and for the Catholic priesthood at S. Sulpice; and the force of the latter is thrown exactly on the point which in the former is entirely neglected,—the interior qualification of heart and temper.

But another point of primary importance, to which we referred above, remains to be considered,—the imparting that special knowledge which is needed for the clerical life and mission. The subject matter of this knowledge is, again, threefold—dogmatic and moral theology, and the practical application of these in ritual and discipline.

Now, doubtless, in a course of Arts, and especially for the baccalaureate, we should not expect such knowledge as this to be imparted at all. But then, this course of three or four years, terminated by the Bachelor's degree, is the only course of systematic study by which the Anglican minister is qualified for his functions; and after its termination, generally not more than a year, and sometimes less, remains, before he enters into Deacon's orders. We must, therefore, inquire what space theology occupies in the studies which all those who attend the universities go through.

Now, the acquisition of the Greek and Latin languages themselves occupies the far larger portion of the *ordinary* student's time in those three or four years; while the history, the chronology, the antiquities, which are necessary to illustrate the prose writers, and the exquisite graces of idiom which mark the poets, supply an ample field besides, for the student *in honours*; not to say that the main stress of the battle will be with him in philosophy, that is to say, in mastering the ethics, rhetoric, and poetics of Aristotle. A certain amount of logic is also necessary. But as for divinity, every student knows, indeed, that something is so imperatively required, that the want of it will not be compensated by any degree of knowledge in other things. This something is, the being acquainted with the four Gospels and the Acts, in Greek, a general knowledge of

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\* Journal, p. 36.

sacred history, the subjects of the books of the Old and New Testament, the evidences of christianity, and the being able to quote the text and understand the meaning of the Thirty-nine Articles. To which the student in honours may add one or more of the Epistles, and Ecclesiastical History. With this amount of divinity every one's examination begins, and not to reach the minimum in this is fatal to any further trial. But at the same time, every one knows, that nothing more is wanted than to do *respectably* this amount of divinity. The class will not turn on any further proficiency in it. And it needs but a glance at this list of subjects, to see that the only portion of it which can be termed dogmatic is the Thirty-nine Articles; on these, accordingly, as the distinctive code of the Anglican Church, lectures are given in the various colleges, and in such lectures must be contained the only appearance of systematic instruction given to the student on the Church of Christ, as a great living system, on its belief and on its sacraments. These Articles, save the first six, being negative rather than positive, and consisting in certain one-sided protests against supposed errors of the Church of Rome, the natural view for a student to take, to whom they are presented as the code of faith, and the text-book for comment, will be, that the main function and high prerogative of a christian in this world, is to keep himself clean from the corruptions of Popery. We doubt if he will leave the university half so well convinced of the 'Two Natures of our Lord, and the Hypostatic Union, as that the Papacy is an enormous system of fraud; or that he will feel there to be "one holy Catholic Church" half so keenly as he enters into the fact that "as the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred, so also the Church of Rome has erred, in matters of faith." Then again, as to our Lord's dwelling with His people in the Sacrament of His love, he will have a very timid, guarded, and hesitating apprehension; but he will be bold as a lion to declare that "Transubstantiation cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions;" while his knowledge of counsels of perfection, and of the duty of the clergy, to whom he is about to belong, to spend and be spent for their people, will be conveyed under the negative form that "bishops, priests, and deacons, are *not* com-

manded by God's law either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage." Besides, he is told that "general councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes;" by which he may infer the independence of our Lord's kingdom,—and that "when they be gathered together, being an assembly of men, they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining to God,"—whence he may form a notion as to its infallibility: and that "it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's Word written; neither may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another;" which may, perhaps, suggest a thought about the Church's fidelity to her office, as if Church and Scripture stood in a sort of normal opposition to each other.

But we have seen Professor Huber again and again declaring, that as for any positive and systematic exposition of what even Anglican orthodoxy admits, it has never been found at the Universities. Now what the University neither has, nor ever has had, in the three hundred years since the Reformation, of course, it cannot impart to its students. But to give the true cause for so long continued an effect, a science of Anglican theology does not exist, because prayer-books, homilies, and articles, are fragments of three contradictory systems, which refuse to coalesce, the forces of which negative each other, and the inconsistency of which is not felt only by those who do not consider the bearing of one doctrine on another. The one real and living idea of the Reformation, which is reproduced again and again in the three centuries of its existence, was to substitute the text of the Bible, interpreted by each according to his fancy, for theology. Here was an appearance of venerating God's word on the one hand, and an unlimited range for private judgment on the other. For the authority of the one Church to interpret and set forth the true meaning of Scripture being rejected, every individual became free to maintain his own interpretation. Now, to this one principle all Protestants are true, whatever their individual bias. Accordingly, they do not contemplate the christian faith as a whole, nor the relation of one doctrine to another; that is, they have no theology, and they feel no need of it. They have no sense of inconsistency and contrariety, not being in possession of any definite faith by which to test what is brought before them.

Thus the Church's dogma appears to them a human invention, and they oppose it to the Word of God, not perceiving that the real opposition lies between the mind of the individual as to what *is* God's Word, and the mind of the Church, and that while the former may, and naturally will, run into all manner of error, the latter is protected from this, not only by every human safeguard, but by an express divine promise.

Quite true to this is the university in her examination of students. She puts them on the *text* of the Gospels and Acts, on sacred history, on the subjects of the Old and New Testament, on evidences, on the *text* of the Epistles again, or on early ecclesiastical history. The only apparent exception is the thirty-nine Articles, as a system of belief. Yet these too are mainly a protest against another system of belief, and so negative rather than positive. Thus he who gains a first class, and he who takes the common degree, will alike go forth from the schools at Oxford ignorant that there is one, coherent, uniform system of belief necessary to salvation: it needs not to say that he will be uninstructed what it is. Chance, so to call it, may have thrown him in the way of Puseyite, or again of Evangelical, or of Latitudinarian influences. According to circumstances will his bias be: an Arnoldite if he fall upon an amiable and accomplished tutor of that persuasion, who is not content with giving college lectures, but seeks to gather round him a school by the charm of his conversation, the absence of donnishness, and an affectionate interest in his friends: Evangelical, or Puseyite, if such be the prevailing temper of his college or his circle. There is nothing to prevent young men going forth from the same public schools, with the same honours, out of the same discipline, with principles of belief *toto cœlo* opposed, some believing in Sacraments, in the Priesthood, in the Eucharistic Presence and Sacrifice, and the existence of a Church: some in that "spiritual" religion which denies all these: and some in that comprehensive and convenient persuasion, that it is great folly to squabble about such things at all. And these will carry their respective opinions into the Anglican ministry, and subscribe the Prayer book, with its baptismal, confirmation, and ordination services on the one hand, and the thirty-nine Articles on the other: all alike professing that "whosoever

will be saved, it is before all things necessary that he hold the Catholic faith, which faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly."

It must not be forgotten, however, that in the last few years a voluntary theological examination has been established at Oxford and Cambridge for those who have gone through the schools. Many bishops already require candidates before ordination to have attended this, and probably all will in the end. Does this then supply that utter want of dogmatic teaching which we have been noting? Nay, it offers a remarkable proof that the evil is inherent and ineradicable in Protestantism. This examination has arisen from a sense of the utter inefficiency of the theological instruction given to the future clergy in the course of Arts. It is the latest remedy devised for an acknowledged fault. Let us see how far it reaches. The subjects appointed for the examination at Cambridge in October, 1851, are these. The Greek Testament: the first Apology of Justin Martyr: Ecclesiastical History: the thirty-nine Articles: the liturgy of the Church. At Oxford the student must attend four courses of lectures, each comprising at least sixteen from the divinity professors, one course of which, however, may be from the professor of Hebrew: and he will be examined on the subjects of these lectures: that is, probably, on the thirty-nine Articles, on Ecclesiastical History, on some part of pastoral theology, as preaching, and on some part of the Hebrew Bible. What can be more vague and uncertain, more neutral and devoid of dogma, or every ruling principle, than this? Puseyite, Arnoldite, and Evangelical will go through it, and come out just as they entered.

But suppose the candidate for the clerical state to have passed through both schools and voluntary examination, and to present himself before the bishop a few months preceding his next ordination. He will probably be asked a few questions on the Articles, set to construe a passage in the New Testament, and recommended to study Pearson on the Creed, and Burnet on the Articles, with one or two more, in the intervening period. A friend of ours, indeed, who applied to the bishop most distinguished for his attempt to assert the dogmatic character of the Anglican establishment, was not so fortunate; he failed to elicit any text book so positive as Pearson on the Creed, or the essay

of the trigamist ecclesiastic, who was bishop of Salisbury, friend of Dutch William, and hero of England's brilliant Whig historian. Having taken his degree early, and wishing to employ a considerable time in study for orders, he begged to be put upon a regular course: the bishop replied that he should expect from him "a competent knowledge of the Old and New Testament." Chillingworth, it seems, was right after all: he took the common sense view, and discerned the only adequate safeguard against Popery: "The Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants."

Such is the amount, such the definiteness, and such the authority of the instruction given to the Anglican candidates for Orders on those mighty and soul-thrilling subjects for the christian's contemplation, the Being of God; the Divine Persons; the Incarnation, and its manifold consequences; the angels; the creation; the mysteries of Christ: the blessed Virgin; the doctrine of Grace and Justification. How many of them even know that a wonderful fabric of dogma on all these has been elaborated under the inspiration of that Spirit who dwells in the Church?

But if such be the case concerning dogmatic theology, what concerning moral? That the very distinction is unknown, that few Anglican ministers, or even bishops, are aware what it means, or that it exists, is a certain fact. For the Anglican establishment not being a government of souls at all, but a state department for religion, how can it authorize instruction in a science which from beginning to end it considers to be an invasion of the rights of the individual conscience? Moral theology is in fact an utter blank in Anglican literature, from the year 1559, downwards: there is no school on it existing: no tradition known. Should an Anglican minister advise himself, being in charge of a parish or otherwise, to attempt the functions of a Catholic Priest, he will, after conferring faculties on himself to hear confessions in general, and the reserved cases in particular, have to construct, out of his private reading of Catholic books, his whole method and rules of action. We know what we should think of a learned amateur, who, after studying in private the best works on surgery, illustrated with the most accurate engravings, set himself, having never attended an hospital, nor bound up a limb, to operate for the stone. It would be a marvel indeed if the patient escaped with his life, or the



operator without meeting St. John Long's punishment for charlatanism. The individual might have in germ the talents of a Cooper or a Brodie, but we should not judge the less severely of his presumption. Exactly parallel is the case of a spiritual doctor, who, uninstructed by Church, unauthorised by Bishop, assumes the authority of a grand penitentiary, constructs a confessional after his own eclecticism, and ventures to deal with the most difficult cases of conscience on a system of rules framed by himself. If constitutions escape under such dealing, it must be that there was a natural process of healing going on, which anticipated the operator. Now the Anglican minister, urged by the wants of his people to enter on a duty for which no previous education has fitted him, in which he has no landmarks save those furnished by a communion against which his own protests, such a one will painfully feel what it is to have heard pronounced over him the words "whose sins thou dost remit they are remitted, and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained," without one single instruction before or after concerning so awful a gift, and the way in which it was to be used.

This is but an instance of the non-existence of moral theology on one particular point: but when we come to the whole doctrine of the sacraments themselves being unsettled, a series of "open questions" comes into view which quite takes away the breath. Parties which number their adherents in the ministry by thousands dispute whether grace is given through the sacraments, or by faith alone: the former denounce the latter as heretical: the latter represent the former to be Judaic and unspiritual. The State holds both parties together in its cold embrace, and says, "why will you not join together and educate my people? Leave disputing about forms."

One point of instruction remains, as to the administration of the practical ritual and discipline. But where the doctrine of sacraments is unsettled, it is hardly to be imagined that the mode of celebrating them will be less so. What Anglican minister is taught, at the University, or elsewhere, how to baptize a child, or how to celebrate Holy Communion? Or wherein the 'forma' of the one, or of the other, consists? He probably takes his own custom in these from the minister with whom he happens to be at his first curacy. As little is there any special instruction in the mode of catechizing children, of visiting the sick, or

the many other details of ministerial life. What an amount of neglect has arisen from the utter disregard of ritual regularity, it would be impossible to express in words. All these things have in truth been dead forms to the mass of the clergy: that they were living and moving in a divine system which their Lord was administering by their hand or voice, was never, till quite of late, impressed on their minds. They administered Baptism with far less care than the registrar of births takes in inscribing a name. And as for the one other sacrament out of the seven which the Articles allow them to keep, if the Anglican clergy do indeed possess that most awful supernatural gift, which the Puseyite portion of them at least claim most earnestly, the amount of profanation respecting the Holy Eucharist which in the course of three hundred years has taken place is something quite inconceivable. The mind revolts at the thought, and is happy to take refuge in absolute unbelief of the gift from so literal a trampling under foot of the Blood of the Covenant.

To the triple subject of moral, dogmatic, and pastoral theology, thus neglected in the Anglican Universities, we find that three years of study are devoted in the college of S. Sulpice. They are thus disposed.

“FIRST YEAR.

Morale.	Le traité de actibus humanis.
...	de legibus.
...	de peccatis.
...	de decalogo.
Dogme.	de vera religione.
...	de vera ecclesia.
...	de locis theologicis.

SECOND YEAR.

Morale.	Le traité de jure et justitia.
...	de contractibus.
Dogme.	de Trinitate.
...	de Incarnatione.
...	de gratia.

THIRD YEAR.

Morale.	Le traité de sacramento poenitentiae. (Under this head would fall the whole di- rection for the guidance of souls.)
...	de matrimonio.
...	de censuris et irregularitatibus.

Dogme.	...	de sacramentis in genere.
	...	de baptismo.
	...	de confirmatione.
	...	de eucharistia.
	...	de ordine. (There is also a special course on this.)
	...	de extrema unctione.

"A course of Holy Scripture twice a week, exclusive of private study of it.

"Authors used—Bailly, 8 vols.; Bouvier, *institutiones theologicæ*; Carrière, *de jure et justitia*, &c.; Tronson, *Forma cleri*. These three years of theology are sometimes expanded to four. From Easter to the vacation they are instructed in the duties of a pastor in great detail. At three o'clock on Sundays, at S. Sulpice, the young men exercise themselves in catechising, except from Easter to the vacation."\*

And the general result of this remarkable contrast between Anglican and Catholic education for the ministry has been thus summed up:

"The work of educating the French clergy is largely in the hands of the congregation of S. Sulpice, a celibate body of course, and whose members are not paid, but merely clothed and boarded. They necessarily teach one uniform dogma, that is, within that sufficiently wide range of doctrine on which the Church has set her immutable seal. More than this, they impress one uniform sacerdotal mould and type, and exercise one discipline on all committed to them. It results, of course, that all who go forth from them, passing through their various public and private scrutinies, are trained and practised combatants to the extent to which their teaching goes. More yet than this; a severe ascetic and self-denying character is from the beginning attached to the sacerdotal life; they take the Apostle literally, 'no man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life'; parents who consent to their children entering into the priesthood think and speak of it as 'a sacrifice'; those who look forward to it have it so set before them, and can count the cost before they take the first step. Few situations to which they can afterwards be called require the exercise of greater self-denial than has been expected from them from the first. Does not this point out to us the quarter from which a reform among ourselves must proceed? Surely before the laity can become sound churchmen, the priesthood must be *uniformly taught*; 'the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth.' But High Church and Low Church, not to mention the interminable shades of distinction in individual

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\* *Allies' Journal in France*. p. 53, 32.

minds between and beyond them, are utterly incompatible with each other. After the dogma of the Trinity they part company. Until, then, the Anglican Church teaches her priests an uniform dogma, and moulds them in a severe and uniform discipline, she cannot hope for any other fate than that her bosom should be rent with interminable heresies and divisions. The existence of the Seminaries, and the order of S. Sulpice, is a reform in the Roman Church. Are we never to *reform*? Not by introducing novelties, but by recurring to ancient practices. The continual encroachment of the world upon the Church rendered it necessary to promote Seminaries as places of spiritual retreat for candidates for holy orders; and when, as a consequence of the revolution, the course of study in the University became quite secularised, it became also necessary to detach the candidates altogether from that course, and to provide all that was requisite for instruction, as well as for inward discipline, within the walls of the Séminaire. This, as to instruction, is not completely done yet. But it is in course of doing. Now does not that necessity, which sprung up in the French Church, exist just as much among ourselves? Are our Universities at present a fit school for preparing men for a life of the utmost patience, self-denial, and humiliation? Is the sacerdotal type impressed there at all? Is anything like an uniform dogma known? Is it not precisely there that moral control is relaxed, and habits of indulgence are commonly introduced? Is there any attempt made to form the inward life, and discern a man's vocation? Oh, is it not the severest censure of our Universities even to mention such things? And without any special training, without any knowledge of his inward state, the young man who has been accustomed to unrestricted company, to studies almost exclusively classical or mathematical, to every kind of worldly amusement and sport, or to travel at the time of life most perilous to innocence, is taken and made a priest of, and sent to the 'cure of souls' in a parish. Can any state of deeper practical corruption than this be well imagined? Or any system more thoroughly opposed to that pursued in the Church, which is proverbially mentioned among us as 'corrupt?' "\*

Thus, powerless, then, have been the teaching and the discipline of the Universities, as well in producing the ecclesiastical tone and character, as in maintaining and impressing a uniform dogmatic system on the minds of those subjected to their influence. But let us consider the matter a little more widely. For three hundred years they have possessed unexampled material resources for the prosecution of all learning, human and divine, and during

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\* Journal, 350-3.

all that time, the very flower of the English nobility, gentry, and commonalty, has been from generation to generation nurtured in their halls. What has been their effect on society, on manners, on the nation, which in that period has passed from infancy to full manhood, and now exults in her political position and material power as the head and crown of the world's civilization?

"The English Universities," says Professor Huber, "content themselves with producing the first and most distinctive flower of the national life,—a well-educated gentleman." It is not the special knowledge requisite for lawyer, physician, or clergyman which they undertake to convey, but their glory is to lay a prior formation of character, which shall develop afterwards according to individual tendencies. Their main intellectual instrument in doing this, has been at Oxford the study of the Greek and Latin languages, and the Aristotelian moral philosophy; at Cambridge, the mathematical sciences. But their chief moral force has lain in the old influences of Church and State acting upon the youth drawn together into them from the higher ranks in all parts of the empire. It is unquestionable, that a very peculiar moral, political, and religious character has been formed and widely diffused in our nation from this their teaching; a character marked by delicate and correct taste, the proprieties and amenities of life, whose standard is honour and respectability, whose sympathies are more with Horace and Augustus than with John the Baptist and Athanasius. The heathen virtues have thus been seen to spring out of the christian creed, and the devotion which banished St. Antony to the desert, and stretched St. Lawrence on the gridiron, has been cooled down for the occasions of ordinary life in the possessors of comfortable parsonages, and the fathers of large families. And no less in its political than in its domestic aspect this character has been valuable to the State; the enthusiasm which was unbecoming in religion it has shown for the prizes of the world, and the children of Oxford and Cambridge have distinguished themselves in arts and arms in every climate of the globe, and have watered a thousand battle-fields with their blood.

With another remark of Professor Huber we agree,—that the Universities have possessed, and have not been slow to use their extraordinary facilities "for forming accomplished schoolmasters." To which must be added a

special praise of Cambridge, that she is the mother of able lawyers. The intellect, which has been so keenly engaged in the study of mathematical sciences, naturally gains distinction at the bar, and energises with precision amid the intricacies of English law.

Moreover, a very great merit has seemed to belong, at least hitherto, to the system of the Universities, which belongs also to some public schools, that they call out voluntary energies, and, not overburdening the mind with too great a variety of subjects, leave the individual character to exert its sway, and to produce, perhaps, in after life, richer fruits than if it had from the beginning been subject to a severer and more cramping course of training. This, indeed, is a merit which belongs to the whole of English, as compared with continental, life, and touches on an original difference of blood ; for hitherto, the Anglo-Saxon race seems to be the only self-governing one, and to thrive on an independence which would waste itself in mere wildness of blood in other nations.

But the making gentlemen, schoolmasters, and lawyers, and the encouraging individual tendencies, was rather a falling in with the natural bias of the age, and race, and nation, than a correcting and subliming of it. For what is a citadel of religious intellect set up in a country, if not to discharge a nobler office ? To raise and bear to victory a standard which otherwise had not been seen, and a cause which otherwise had been lost. England, since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, has become the great commercial power of the world. "Tyre of the West," she has been called by friend and foe. She has thriven on the inductive sciences, according to the course mapped out by her own great philosopher ; all her recent glory and greatness are built on her discoveries in the realm of matter, her applying, combining, and perfecting those discoveries of her own and others. Earth, air, fire, and water do her bidding, and submit to her rule. A boundless capitalised wealth moves those myriad arms by which she subjects these elements to the progress of human civilization. Doubtless, it is a great destiny. It is an endless task of curiosity and interest to read those secrets which the Almighty Creator has hidden in the bowels of the earth, to collect and arrange for the advantage of man powers which He has dispersed, to improve the well-being of society by impartial laws, and to open fresh sources of



prosperity in a boundless trade. England will have the first glory of embracing the whole world's productions under one roof. But in such a scene of turmoil, such a struggle for worldly pre-eminence, such an exhibition of material power, more need was there for a continual memento that man is not merely "an exchanging animal," but a "living soul." The earthly empire tended to obscure the heavenly citizenship. Have the Universities maintained this latter as a real and living idea in the minds of men? A spiritual creed, demanding faith,—a spiritual kingdom, involving citizenship,—a spiritual authority, claiming obedience,—these were the correctives to the overbearing tyranny of worldly wealth and power. Three centuries ago these were living in the heart of the nation; they were throned in immemorial possession. The Englishman had not only a national inheritance of language, land, and law, but he spoke likewise a Catholic tongue, was heir of a spiritual realm, and subject to a divine code. And these it is which the Universities were created to maintain and set forth,—these, too, are what they have suffered to perish out of the minds of men. Our legislators, while their debates are borne on the wings of steam to the ends of the world, and read by all civilised men, have no sense of the Church's independent spiritual existence, feel no need of a system of belief, one, complete, and coherent, and yield it no obedience. That is, with greater power than the Cæsars, and a civilization "reminding one of Rome in the time of Heliogabalus," they have sunk in religion back to the state of savages, and have come to consider the individual's independence the perfection of spiritual manhood. They have wandered back, each in his self-will, into that confusion of tongues out of which Abraham was taken.

And so it is that when the Catholic Church spreads out her arms to receive men, and would mould them into her divine unity, they recoil, and cry out, 'We are wiser than you. We can read for ourselves, and think for ourselves, and be a law to ourselves. What can you give us which we have not? The press has made your book ours too. You may burn incense before it, and chant it in an unknown language, but it lies upon our tables all the time.' They have forgotten that what subdued the world of old was not a book, but the tongues of fire descending on twelve men assembled in an upper chamber. And the fire

once kindled on the earth is there still, and goes through the nations yet to quicken or destroy.

Now it is to this most sacred trust that the Universities have been unfaithful: yet it could not be otherwise: they could not raise the nation with a power which had its centre and abiding place in the nation, and therefore was subject to it. When for ten years their rights and privileges lay in the hands of a despot drunk with blood, it was an image of their future helplessness; of their doom not to guide and teach society, but to be its cupbearers and lacqueys. When an act of Parliament violated the wills of all founders, and transferred to the new religion what had been left to maintain the old, it cast away all pretext for resisting any future confiscation which the utilitarian spirit may demand. You have already entered into possession of other men's goods; when the nation cries, you have held them too long, and done little service with them, what can you reply? A robber cannot plead the rights of private property, and colleges built to say masses, wherein mass is never said, cannot complain, should reform be for turning chapels into museums, and lecture upon the structure of beasts and reptiles in preference to the thirty-nine Articles.

And it would seem that at length some such destiny is approaching. The age is angry with the universities for quite a different fault from that with which we reproach them. Not because they have taught no theology, and sent forth no apostolic ministry, but because, besides Latin and Greek and Mathematics, they have not taught modern languages and modern sciences, because Aristotle is old-fashioned, and Toryism out of date, they are threatened with a remodelling by a power with which they have no sympathy. We cannot exult at such a prospect. If these noble foundations have been kept so long, through changes so marvellous, and with effects so apparently inadequate, we could have hoped that it was for some better end at last than to be sacrificed to the shortsighted educational empiricism of the day. Creedless men will not build up what the eighth Henry demolished, nor the spirit of the counting house restore life to halls built by a Wykeham or a Waynflete.

For indeed amid this wonderful growth of the arts and commodities of life, this rise and continual development and working out of the inductive sciences, spiritual princi-

ples have been in a continual ebb, doubt has won ground upon faith, and first axioms in theology, from which our ancestors started, have been shaken. To such a degree have tricky and compromising formularies sapped all honesty of perception, that a doctrinal decision, making the virtue of baptism an open question, and so equivalent to a denial of Christianity itself, in the mind of one who has a creed, is already acquiesced in by a vast majority of the establishment. We indeed as Catholics only see in this the necessary result of certain principles which were at the bottom of Henry's and Elizabeth's reform. The evils which we have briefly traced as clinging so pertinaciously to university ecclesiastical education through three centuries are not temporary and accidental, but spring from the logical basis of the Reformation. Want of dogma could not but follow from the principle of private judgment on which alone the whole revolt was based: want of moral theology, disregard of vocation, neglect of the spiritual life, from the overthrow of the sacerdotal relation between pastor and people, and the non-interference on principle, with the individual conscience. The necessary secularisation of a married clergy carried with it the want of spiritual life, and bore the full flood of the world into the sanctuary. It is not corruption in practice, nor the fertile springing up of abuses, which we note, but the radical perversion of the idea; the State taking the place of the Church; and so the dissolution of spiritual authority, and the melting of truth into opinion. And the process is now complete: from the primary mystery of Baptism, to the crowning one of the Eucharistic presence, all is brought into doubt: the learner, having the choice of schools quite contradictory in their most essential tenets, is put in a position of superiority to his teachers: he is critic rather than disciple. He can render no submission of the heart or intellect, for there is no authority to receive it. Unity is so utterly broken up, that men defend themselves from retracing their steps by asserting that our Lord did not mean His disciples to be one.

A strange contrast it is which assails the thoughtful mind in Oxford, which must have struck with peculiar force foreign Catholics hastening in the freshness of their enthusiasm to a spot more telling of the past than any other in our island, and still bound up with so many sacred recollections. The world, which has swept away

almost all other marks of mediæval life, has left the structures of Wykeham and Waynflete, of Walter de Merton, and so many others, intact. You may enter still, alas you cannot worship, in a chapel\* where St. Thomas himself may have offered the Holy Sacrifice, which, in the perfect proportions of its sculptured beauty, is like his own Summa, cut in stone, so serene, so complete, so stately, and so reverential; the roof of which the pious genius of a living son, in a spirit like his own, has decorated with the portraits of Saints and Martyrs; the very likeness of the Doctor Subtilis yet hangs within that College of which he was a student. These are societies whose corporate life held on through the overthrow of all sacred things at the Reformation, whose actual statutes, no less than their buildings, speak of fixity, system, formed character, and definite aims, and pay homage to Theology as the end of all arts and sciences: while, for ten generations, those who have thronged these halls have been the prey of every conflicting religious opinion, fanatical at one time, apathetic at another, but ever, in the diversity of their judgments, their waywardness, and ambiguity, shewing the fatal effect of that compromise which state policy struck between ancient truth and modern error, when it produced a hybrid whose members live on in perpetual conflict with each other, wasting, in intestine opposition, the vital energy of a being which, by the fault of its birth, has been cursed with sterility.

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*Summary Notice of Foreign Catholic Literature.—French Catholic Publications.*

We are induced to resume, after a long interval, a plan which, for many years, was followed in this Journal with much success, and the abandonment of which has been a subject of frequent and earnest expostulation with many of our oldest and best friends. The number and variety of Catholic publications on the Continent, rendered it impossible for a Journal like ours, sufficiently occupied with subjects of domestic interest, appearing at intervals so distant from each other, and so limited in the number

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\* Merton College Chapel.

and extent of its critical essays, to keep pace with the literary progress of our brethren on the Continent. Many foreign publications, of course, were too important to be overlooked; and we have the satisfaction of feeling, that, from time to time, our Journal has recorded all that is best and most valuable in the Catholic literature of France, Germany, and Italy. But the great mass of Catholic publications, those which belong to the useful rather than the brilliant class, were necessarily passed over without notice; and in an age so eminently practical and so prolific, if not in original works, at least in useful compilations from the old ones, much valuable information, in every department of Catholic literature, was thus withheld from the reader. With the view of at least partially remedying this defect, a "Summary of Foreign Catholic Literature" was, for some years, appended to each number of this Review. It was not intended to contain elaborate criticisms of the works which it comprised; but merely to keep the reader *au courant* with the progress of Catholic literature; to register the appearance of all works of importance; and to direct special attention to such among them as were deserving of more particular examination. The utility of the plan was universally recognized. It was abandoned with great reluctance. The editors have long desired to resume it; and arrangements have at length been made by which they hope to carry it on without further danger of interruption. It is purposed, as an ordinary rule, to distribute the subject over the four quarterly publications; allotting the first to French Literature, the second to German, the third to Italian, and the fourth to Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and Belgian. With regard to many of the publications, we shall content ourselves with little more than a record of their appearance; but all works of special merit shall be carefully considered, not so much with the hope of conveying an adequate notion of their contents, as with that of enabling the reader to decide whether he may consider them worthy of further examination.

The long arrear for which we have been obliged to provide in the present number, will sufficiently explain the brevity of some of the following notices; but arrangements have been made, by which we hope, in future, to render the Foreign Summary, in many respects, one of the most useful and interesting departments of our Journal.

## FRENCH CATHOLIC PUBLICATIONS, 1850-1.

## SECT. I.—THEOLOGY.

*Démonstrations Évangéliques, ouvrage publié par M. MIGNE.* Tome XVIII. et dernier chaque volume se vend séparément, prix f.6. Paris, Migne, 1850.

It would be difficult to resume our record of the Catholic literature of France more worthily than with the labours of the indefatigable press of the Abbé Migne. His great Exegetical, Theological, and Patristical publications are too well known to require any notice at our hands. But the series whose title is prefixed to these lines, although it is now brought to a successful termination, is less familiar even to the best informed English readers. Although the unsettled state of France, and the consequent depression of trade, have interfered materially with M. Migne's labours, he has just completed his *Démonstrations Évangéliques*, one of the most valuable collections ever published. Commencing with Tertullian, it embraces all the able defences of Gospel truth which have appeared since his day. It contains the productions of no less than 117 authors. Among them we meet with the names of Locke, Tillotson, Sherlock, Paley, Chalmers, and other English writers. In the later volumes we are glad to find the Controversial Treatises of Milner and Lingard, and the complete works of Cardinal Wiseman. The volume noticed above contains four works from the pen of the Abbé Chassay, Professor of Philosophy in the grand Seminary of Bayeux: *Dissertations sur les Etudes Clericales*; *Le Docteur Strauss et ses Adversaires in Allemagne*; *Tableau des Apologistes Chrétiens depuis la Renaissance jusqu'à la Restauration*, and *L'Indicateur Apostolique*. *Strauss et ses Adversaires* is a work unique in its kind. After giving an idea of Strauss and his book, the author passes, one by one, before the eye of the reader, the long array of German writers who have taken the field against him, giving a resumé of the points established, and the arguments employed by each. M. Chassay says that his object was merely to collect materials; but his production is, without doubt, the most complete refutation of the *Leben Jesu* which has yet appeared.

*Histoire de la Rédemption*, par l'Abbé CHASSAY, vol. 1, 18mo. Poussielgue-Rusaud.

If the Abbé Chassay's first volume can be taken as a sample, the History of the Redemption promises to be an admirable work. It will contain a full and complete history of our Saviour's life, and of the contemporaneous events which bear upon it, gathered from all available sources, sacred and profane. The pith of all that has been written to illustrate the Gospel history, is presented to the reader, not in a scientific form, but either interwoven with the text, or subjoined in the shape of explanatory notes. The work



abounds in quotations from the Fathers and ascetic writers. The first volume reaches only to the massacre of the Holy Innocents.

*Le Mysticisme Catholique ; Réponses aux objections de M.M. Panthier, Pierre Leroux, Jouffroy, Michelet, Cousin, Guizot & Barthélemy St. Hilaire, par l'Abbé CHASSAY.* 1 vol. 8vo, f.6. Perisse.

Another work by the same distinguished author. In his *Le Christ et l'Evangile* he replied to the attacks of modern rationalism upon the dogmas of religion. In *Le Mysticisme Catholique*, he defends the sublime morality of the Gospel with equal zeal and success.

*Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Decreta Authentica, quæ ab anno 1588, ad annum 1848, prodierunt Alphabetico ordine collecta,* 1 vol. 8vo, f. 3, 50. Julien Lavier et comp.

It is impossible to overstate the practical value of this collection. The most useful decrees of the Sacred Congregation are selected from Gardellini, and arranged according to the order of their subjects. At the end of every decree is placed the number which marks its place in Gardellini's collection. Two indexes are subjoined, one alphabetical, the other chronological. Numerous notes are added to the text, consisting of extracts from Benedict XIV., Ferraris, Merati, and all the best liturgical authorities.

*Spicilegium Solesmense ; Complectens S.S. quorundam Patrum Auctoreumve Ecclesiasticorum, qui a primo inde Sæculo ad duodecimum usque florere, anecdota hactenus opera, publici juris facta, curante Domino J. B. PETRA, O.S.B., Monacho, e Congregatione Gallica, nonnullis ex Abbatia Solesmensi opem conferentibus.*

We shall notice this noble collection more fully hereafter. For the present, its nature can be sufficiently gathered from its title. It will contain upwards of 150 works, never before published. The collection is divided into two series. The first series extends from the second century to the tenth, the second from the tenth to the twelfth inclusive. The text is unburthened with notes, all the necessary observations being included in the prolegomena. Each series consists of 5 volumes. It may be useful to add that the price is f.10 a volume to a limited number of subscribers, and f.15 to others.

*Année Liturgique, par le R. P. Dom. GUERANGER, Abbé des Solesmes,* 4me volume 8vo, f.3 75. Julien Lavier et comp.

The *Année Liturgique* is a kind of pendant to the well known *Institutione Liturgiques* of that learned author, a worthy child of the great Benedictine school. It will contain a commentary, dogmatic, mystic, and historical, on the offices of the entire year. The first volume commences with the Advent offices ; the fourth is devoted to the time between Septuagesima and Lent.

*Manuel des Sciences Ecclesiastiques*, par le R. P. Dom. BRUNO LACOMBE, 2 vols. 8vo, f.12. Julien Lavier et comp.

Faithful to the spirit of their Order, the fathers of Solesme are indefatigable in their zeal for everything regarding sacred bibliography. Within the last few years we have had many volumes of Liturgy from Dom. Gueranger, and of Patrology from Dom. Pitra. Dom. Le Bannier is untiring in translating ascetic works. There are at this moment, in the press, two books of his—a translation of the Divine Psalmody of Bona, and an accurate edition of St. Bonaventure's Meditations. The work which Dom. Lacombe has just published, though appearing under such an unpretending title, is a complete repertory of information regarding all that has been written on Ecclesiastical Science. Of the many similar performances already existing, some, as those of Dupin and Ceillier, for instance, are too voluminous for the ordinary student; others, as that of Zaccaria, are too meagre to be of any value; others, again, are incorrect; and all are now old, and therefore valueless to any one who desires information on the works of the present age. The *Manuel*, though neither voluminous nor costly, notices all the Ecclesiastical works worth consulting, from the Christian era down to the present day. Taking Scriptural Science as a specimen, we find the Canon of the inspired writings; the Apocryphal books; the different texts and versions of the Bible; an account of all the principal manuscripts; all the translations, ancient and modern; a catalogue of the principal editions; a list of Commentators, orthodox, Protestant and Jewish, &c. It is only necessary to add that Notes are appended when necessary, indicating the character and value of each work.

*Du Concile Provincial, ou Traité des Questions de Theologie, et du Droit Canon qui concernent les Conciles Provinciaux*, par l'Abbé BOUX, 1 vol. 8vo, f.7. Lecoffre.

Up to the appearance of this work we had no professed treatise on provincial Councils. The revival of these Councils in France caused the want of such a treatise to be sensibly felt. M. Boux undertook the task of compiling and arranging all the dispositions of the Canon Law and the decision of Theologians regarding the subject, and succeeded so well, as to merit the warm approbation of Cardinal Fornari, the Papal Nuncio, and of several French prelates.

The work is divided into five parts. The first part treats of the nature of provincial Councils, their object, and the obligation of holding them. The second part treats of those whose right it is to convene the Council, and of those who should be admitted to take part in it, as also the rights and duties of the officers of the Council. The third part is taken up with the relations between the Council and the Holy See, the *Causæ majores*, the

necessity of having the decrees confirmed before publication, &c. The fourth part regards the proceedings of the Council, and the laws by which they are regulated.

Many difficult incidental questions are decided concerning the power of Councils over individual Bishops, the case of disagreement between the metropolitan and his suffragans, the precise limits to which the authority of the Council extends in matters of faith and discipline, &c. The fifth part is devoted to the ceremonial. The work in all its parts evinces considerable historical research and a familiar acquaintance with all the best theologians.

The order of the subject is natural, and the style remarkably simple and clear.

*Manuale Juris Canonici ad usum Seminariorum.* Auctore, J. M. F. Lequeux, Editio tertia, aucta et emendata. 4 vols. 12mo, f. 12. Mequignon.

An enlarged reprint of this extremely useful digest of Canon Law. The fourth volume is in French, and contains a history of Canon Law. It is sold separately.

*Catechisme du Concile de Trente, Traduction Nouvelle, avec des Notes.* Par l'Abbé Dassance, V. G. Montpellier. 2 vol. 8vo, f. 8. Mequignon.

Mons. Dassance's edition of the Catechism of the Council of Trent, contains many valuable notes, and its value is enhanced by an abridgment by way of question and answer, and a division of the catechism, corresponding to the Sundays of the year.

*Symbolique ; ou Exposition Apologetique du Symbole des Apotres.* Par l'b bé Constant Clerc. 1 vol. 8vo. Waillé.

Perhaps the best mode of meeting the infidel opinions of the present day, is to give a simple and plain exposition of the tenets of Christianity, after the manner of the early Apologists. Many among the enemies of revealed truth are now in the same position as were the pagans in the early ages of the Church : they oppose the truth because they are ignorant of it.

M. Clerc, in his *Symbolique*, takes up the articles of the creed in succession, expounds them, and vindicates their truth by philosophical and theological arguments. The idea is a good one, but the author has not been very felicitous in carrying it out. His style is forced and exaggerated ; his ideas are sometimes confused and now and then inaccuracies are met with, slight, indeed, but unpardonable in a work of the kind.

*L'Evangile dans son Unité.* Par Pere Lacheze. Nouvelle edition. 1 vol. 8vo, f. 6. Lecoffre.

A concordance of the four Gospels, in Latin and French. The additions necessary to connect the extracts are in small type.

*Tractatus de Ecclesia Christi.* Auctore, Claris. 2 vol. 12mo, f. 4. Poussellque-Russano.

A companion to M. Claris's treatise on Religion. They contain nothing new upon the subject. The treatise on the Church has been approved by Cardinal Giraud.

*Mariages Mixtes. Observations sur le choix des Conditions Religieuses auxquelles on peut les contracter.* Par un Chanoine de Besançon. 1 vol. grand, 8vo, f. 1, 25. Sagnier de Bray.

*Compendium Theologiæ Moralis.* Auctore Joanne Petro Gury, S. J. in collegio Romano Professore. 2 vol. 12mo. Parisse.

We have coupled these two works together from their affinity of subject. The treatise on Mixed Marriages is practical, and displays considerable learning. The plan of the latter treatise is admirable. Every question commences with an accurate definition fully explained. All the divisions of the subject are then pointed out. Next in order come the principles upon which the decisions depend, and then, and then only, does the author proceed to the practical resolution of cases. In these, the opinions of St. Liguori are generally followed. M. Gury is preparing for the press an extended course of Moral Theology.

*Les Rationalistes et les Traditionalistes.* Par le R. Pere Chastel. 1 vol. 8vo, f. 1, 50. Mequignon.

An attempt to define the province of reason in matters of faith, and to combat on one side the errors of the rationalists, and on the other, the scarcely less pernicious errors of those who deny that reason can arrive at certainty in any matter without the aid of revelation.

We can but recite the names of the following publications, with which, for the present, we close our theological list. The reprint of Catalani's great work is admirably executed.

*Catéchisme historique dogmatique et pratique des Indulgences et du Jubilé; avec un appendice contenant tout ce qui a rapport au Jubilé de l'année sainte, 1850.* Par l'Abbé Ambroise Guillois. 1 vol. 12mo, Julien Lavier et Com.

*Synopsis Demonstrationis Christianæ et Catholicæ; complectens tractatus de religione, de ecclesia, de locis theologicis, et fide divina. Ad usum Sem Lugdunenis.* 1 vol., 8vo, f. 3. Mequignon.

*Immutabilitas Religionis Christianæ et Infallibilitas Ecclesiæ,* c. 40. Mequignon.

*Pontificale Romanum Prolegomenis et Commentariis Illustratum.* Auctore Josepho Catalano. Edit. 2ud, 3 vol. 4to, f. 60.

## SECTION II.—PHILOSOPHY.

*La Science de la Vie.* Par l'Abbé Martinet. 2 vols. 8vo, f. 10. Lecoffre.

M. Martinet is a well-known writer. He has often before entered the lists as the champion of the Church against the infidel philosophers of the present age. His *Solutions des Grands Problemes*, his *Statolatric*, and his *Emmanuel*, have procured for him a wide-spread celebrity. In the present volumes, he undertakes to solve the great problems of human life: "Whence have we our life? What is its object? How is this object attained? and, finally, what shall be its termination?" He establishes, by a chain of most forcible reasoning the doctrines of christianity on these heads, exposes and refutes the theories of the German rationalists and French Eclectics, and the monstrous errors of Pantheism. He shows that Socialism and Communism are the legitimate consequences of these systems, and that the remedy for all our social disorders is to be found in christianity alone. His arguments are for the most part borrowed from our ordinary theological treatises; scarcely any are entirely new; but, by accompanying them with apt illustrations, and clothing them in rich and beautiful language, he has rendered them attractive for the ordinary reader.

The work is in the form of conversations between a professor and his pupils; but the interruptions are too few to break the continuity of the professor's discourse.

*Jacques Balmes; sa Vie et ses Ouvrages.* Par A. de Blanche-Raffin. 1 vol. 8vo, Sagnier et Bray.

A faithful and interesting sketch of the life and labours of Balmes by his pupil and intimate friend. The subjoined analysis of his works is executed with great judgment. The work contains many curious particulars concerning the Spanish universities, and gives an insight into the state of ecclesiastical studies in that country.

*La Pierre de Touche des Nouvelles Doctrines.* Par M. B. d'Exauvillez. 1 vol. 12mo, f. 1, 60. Gaume Frères.

*Historie de la Vie de N. S. Jesus Christ; au Point de Vue Apologetique, Politique et Sociale.* Par l'Abbé Barthelemy de Beauregard. 1 vol. 12mo. Lecoffre.

It is a frequent practice among Socialists to make blasphemous appeals to the maxims and the conduct of the Redeemer in support of their monstrous doctrines. This life of Jesus Christ, as well as the work which precedes it, is written with a view to show the absurdity of such attempts, to exhibit the principles of social life which follow from the gospel, and to prove that all the evils of the present social system in France, result from contempt of the precepts inculcated in the inspired writings.

*Art d'Arriver au Vrai; ou Philosophie Pratique.* Par J. Balmes. Traduit de l'Espagnol, par M. Mauce; avec une Preface, par M. de Blanche. Raffin. 1 vol. 12mo, f. 2, 50. Sagnier et Bray.

*Institutiones Philosophicæ.* Auctore, J. B. Bouvier, Ep. Cenomansensi, Nona editio, cæteris multo auctior et emendatior. 1 vol. 12mo. Mequignon.

*Institutiones Philosophicæ; ad usum Sem. Suessionensis.* Auctoribus, J. M. Lequeur et S. Gabelle. 4 vols. 12mo, f. 6. Mequignon.

*Theodicée Chretienne.* Par l'Abbé Maret. 2nd edition, f. 6. Mequignon.

It is only necessary to register the publication of the new editions of these well-known works; most of them, and especially that of Mgr. Bouvier, are much enlarged.

*Dieu et le Peuple. Appel a la France et a l'Europe, sur les veritables principes de la Constitution sociale et politique, et Solution par la Religion Catholique des Problemes posés, par l'etat actuel de la Civilization.* Par G. A. Battur, Docteur en droit. 1 vol. 8vo, f. 6. Sagnier et Bray.

M. Battur, unhappily for Catholic literature, did not live to read the proof sheets of his book. He was one of those upright laymen, (of whom there are not a few in France,) who have preserved themselves from the taint of prevailing impiety, and who range themselves boldly on the side of truth.

His work is written in a high Catholic spirit. After vindicating the doctrines of christianity regarding the attributes of God and the destinies of the soul of man, he enters on the question of property and the bonds of family, proves them of divine origin, and exposes the folly of the modern antisocial systems. He then proceeds to questions connected with government and political economy, and proposes means for the re-establishment of peace and order in Europe. Among these, he insists upon the restoration to religious orders of their civil rights, and the restitution of the plundered property of the Church. He inveighs strongly against the countenance given by England to Socialist propagandism, which he ascribes solely to her hatred of Catholicity. Would that we could offer a complete and effective reply to the charge!

*Legendes des Philosophes.* Par le Neveu de mon Oncle. 3eme edition, f. 1, 25. Waille.

A happy attempt to ridicule some of the chiefs of the revolutionary school of philosophy, Condorcet, Volney, and others, by holding up to view the excesses and miseries of their private life.

*Examen Critique de la Theorie Catholique de la Raison.* Par l'Abbé Maret. Au Bureau de Annales de la Philosophie.



M. Maret is one of the many zealous Catholics who are labouring to unite the modern philosophy with the great foundation of all truth, religion. His essay is carefully and pleasingly executed.

*Le Pretre et le Medecin devant la Société.* Par le R. P. Debreyne. 1 vol. 8vo, f. 5. Poussielgue-Rusand.

Pere Debreyne is a Doctor of Medicine, of the faculty of Paris, who has joined the religious of la Trappe. Since he became a religious, he has published some works which we cannot recommend too strongly to the notice of the missionary priest, for whose use, indeed, they are exclusively intended. An idea of their eminent usefulness can be gathered from their titles. *Essai sur la Theologie Morale Considerée dans ses Rapports avec la Physiologie et la Medicine. Etude de la Mort, ou Initiation du pretre a la connaissance des Maladies Graves. Méchialogie, &c.*

### SEC. III.—HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND ASCETICISM.

*Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise*, par M. L'ABBE ROHRBACHER. 2nde Edition, Revue et corrigée, 29 vols., 8vo. Prix de chaque volume f. 5. 50. Gaume Freres.

A work so well known as that of M. Rohrbacher it is needless to say anything in praise of. His vast erudition; his perfect familiarity with almost all the sources of history; his philosophical mind, which seizes intuitively all the bearings of a question, and presents them in the clearest light; his strict impartiality; and the strong faith which infuses life and spirit into all his labours, are already familiar to most of our readers.

The issues of the first edition, consisting of from 4000 to 5000 copies, having been exhausted, the author took the opportunity of making some important corrections, and enriching history from sources lately placed within his reach. The publications of Cardinal Mai, and the interesting work *Monuments Inédits sur l'Apostolat de Sainte Marie Madeleine en Provence, et sur les autres Apotres de cette Contrée*, published in 1849, by M. Faillou, furnished him with many facts and documents of great value. The resumé of the opinions of the Fathers and Theologians, upon the amount of knowledge possessed by the Pagans regarding revealed truths, which occasioned so much discussion in the first edition has been suppressed, and replaced by a long extract from the dogmatic Theology of Cardinal Gousset. A refutation of the errors condemned in the late Provincial Councils is added.

M. Louis Veuillot, of the Univers, has undertaken the literary revision of the work. A volume appears every month; fourteen have been published already. The paper and type of the new edition are unexceptionable.

*Histoire de St. Amand, Eveque Missionnaire, et du Christicisme*

*chez les Peuples du Nord au septieme Siecle*, par L'ABBE DESTOWBES. 1 vol. 8vo., f. 4. 50. Guyot.

A work of considerable erudition; containing, besides the essential facts of the history, a number of very interesting details, regarding ecclesiastical affairs in the seventh century. The design of the author is to show that the Church of the Middle Ages was the great organ of civilization, the protector of the weak, and the promoter of learning.

*Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise*, par Alzog, traduite sur la cinquieme edition par M. Goschlun directeur au College Stanislas, et C. E. Audley. 1 vol. 8vo. f. 16. Waille.

This work, the success of which in Germany can be estimated from its having already run through four editions, has met with an equally favourable reception in France; it has been adopted as a class-book in many of the Diocesan Seminaries. M. Alzog is professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Seminary at Posen. His object in writing this History, was to supply a work which might serve at the same time as an elementary history for the young student, and as a text-book for more advanced classes.

*Œuvres Completes de Fénelon; Augmentées de l'Histoire de Fénelon*. Par M. le Cardinal de BEAUSSET, et précédées d'une histoire littéraire ou revue historique de ses œuvres. Pour servir de complément de son histoire par M. \* \* \* Directeur au Seminaire de St. Sulpice. 10 Vols. grand in 8vo. Prix de chaque vol. f.7. Gaume Frers. Cinq volumes out paru.

*Histoire de Fénelon*, par M. le Cardinal de BEAUSSET. Nouvelle edition, revue, corrigée et augmentée d'après les MSS. de Fénelon, et d'autres Pièces Authentiques. 4 vols. 8vo. f. 15. Le Coffre.

The history of Fenelon, by Cardinal Beausset, was first published in 1808. In 1817 appeared a complete edition of Fenelon's works. Mgr. Beausset then perceiving that he had many omissions to supply, formed the intention of giving a new edition of his history, but was never able to accomplish his design. The Abbé Gosselin having undertaken to carry it out, consulted a vast number of authentic documents, made a minute search into all that remains of Fenelon, and embodied the fruits of his labours in the text of Mgr. Beausset, distinguishing his interpolations by typographical marks.

The parts collected by M. Gosselin are most curious and interesting. Many of them appear in print for the first time.

*Histoire de l'Eglise de France*, par l'Abbe Guettée. Prix de chaque volume, f. 6. Guyot.

This work will extend over 12 volumes. The publication has already reached the sixth, which carries the history from the

year 1096 to the year 1226. M. Guettée is not a mere compiler. He is indefatigable in searching after original documents; and has succeeded in throwing new light upon many points connected with the history of the French Church. His history is characterised by strict impartiality, and is remarkable for its lucid order, and the clearness of its style.

*Fastes Sacrées de l'Afrique Chrétienne.* Par Mgr. DUPUCH, ancien et premier évêque d'Alger. Premier Epoque, de la predication de l'Evangile en Afrique jusqu' a Constantin. 1 vol. 8vo.—Deuxieme Epoque (sous presse) Troisieme Epoque, de l'invasion des Vandales jusqu' a Belisaire. 1 vol. 8vo. f. 5.—Quatrieme Epoque, de Belisaire a Mgr. PAVIE, second Evêque d'Alger en 1846, 1 vol. 8vo. f. 5. Sagnier and Bray.

*Essai sur l'Algérie Chrétienne, Romaine et Française.* Par le meme. 1 vol. 8vo. f. 8. (Turin, Imprimerie Royale.) Sagnier et Bray.

This book consists chiefly of extracts from the *Africa Christiana* of Marielli, with notes and additions by Mgr. Dupuch. It contains an interesting account of some of the ancient sees of Algiers.

*Legendaire d'Autun, ou vie des Saints et des autres personages pieux du diocese.* Par l'Abbe F. Pequignot. 2 vols. 12mo. f. 3. Leoffre.

*Les femmes de la Bible, principaux fragments de l'histoire du peuple de Dieu.* Par l'Abbé G. DARBOY. 2 vols. 8vo. f. 20. Garnier Freres.

M. Darboy is well known as a frequent contributor to the *Correspondant*. He has given us in these volumes a series of charming lives, written with great taste, and in an attractive style.

The numerous plates which accompany the text are executed in a superb manner; but assuredly they are not in the spirit of christian art. It is but just, however, to say, that the blame rests not with M. Darboy. The engravings were first completed, and he was requested by the publishers to write an accompaniment for them.

*Cours d'histoire Ecclesiastique.* Par M. l'abbé Blanc V. G. de Rheims. 2 forts volumes, 8vo. f. 12. Gaume Freres.

This history is intended to serve as a class-book in seminaries. The first volume contains the history of the first two centuries; but includes besides a number of dissertations upon the faith, discipline, constitution, and government of the Church, tracing them to their origin, and demonstrating their antiquity. In the second volume the author carries on the history to the year 1831. He touches on all the important facts, investigates their bearing on each other, and clears up, as far as the case allows, the doubtful points which occur from time to time; so that his book is not, as one would be led from its inconsiderable size to conclude, a mere dry abridgment, but a lucid, connected, and philosophical history.

*Histoire du Sonderbund.* Par M. Crétineau-Joly, 2 vols. 8vo. f. 15. Plon.

Every one knows what an active part the anarchists of Switzerland played in fomenting the revolutions by which Europe was lately agitated. Switzerland, always an asylum for anarchists, became of late years the den into which the enemies of order and religion gathered from every country in Europe. While the results of their intrigues were open to the day, the authors remained in comparative obscurity. Crétineau-Joly, already known to the literary world—History of the Jesuits and other works—has at length revealed the mystery of their secret doings. He commences several years back, and paints in vivid colours the disorders of which Switzerland has been the scene. He relates the history of the secret societies, published in their proceedings, the correspondence of the refugees with delegates at home, exposes the relations existing between them and the Socialists of Europe, and lays completely bare all the ramifications of their conspiracy. He studied the events which he recounts on the scene of action itself, and supports his statements by a vast number of original documents. A new work, by the same author, is soon to appear; it is called *Histoire des sociétés secrètes*.

*Memoires d'Outre-Tombe.* Par CHATEAUBRIAND. 8 vols. 8vo. f. 95. Penaud, Freres.

The publication of these Memoirs, which have obtained so much notoriety, was completed in February. The former works of Chateaubriand have been issued in the same style, and the whole forms the only complete edition of Chateaubriand as yet published.

*Histoire de la Revolution et de l'Empire.* Par M. AMEDEE GABOURD. 10 vols. 8vo. Lecoffre.

This work, well known to those who study the history of France in a Catholic point of view, was terminated last month. (March.)

*Saint Athanase. Histoire de sa Vie, deses Ecris, et de son Influence sur son Siecle, suivi de notices sur Saint Antoine et Saint Pacôme.* 1 vol. 8vo. 3f. *Saint Cyprien, Histoire de sa Vie, et extraits de ses ecrits.* 1 vol. 8vo. 3f. *Saint Ephrem, do. Saint Jerome, do.* Sagnier and Bray.

Messrs. Sagnier et Bray have undertaken a series, illustrative of the lives and writings of the fathers, and the volumes here recited are an instalment of the work. They are executed in an easy and popular style, and will prove a valuable addition to our Patristic literature.

*Vie de Paul Granger de la Compagnie de Jesus.* Par J. SUFOUR ASLAFORT, de la meme Compagnie. Leclerc.

The life of a young man who entered the Society after making

the most heroic sacrifices, was a model of sanctity during the short time he lived in Religion, and died in the college of Brugelette, on the 4th of June, 1850. Some beautiful poems by him are given at the end of the volume.

We can but record the names of the following books. The two biographies are interesting, and the historical works are of considerable merit.

*Mgr. Flagat Eveque de Burdstown et de Louisville; sa Vie son Esprit et ses vertus.* 1 vol. 8vo. Lecoffre.

*Etudes historiques sur la collegiale de St. Pierre a Lille.* 1 vol. grand in 8vo. f.3. Leclerc.

*Vie de l'Abbe Gagelin, Missionnaire Apostolique et Martyr.* Par l'ABBE JACQUENET. 1 vol. 12mo. f.3. Lecoffre.

*Baudouin de Constantinople, Chronique de Belgique et de France.* Par le R. P. A. CAHOIRS, S. J., one vol. 12mo. f.2. 50. Poussielgue-Rusaud.

*Bibliographie Universelle.* Par F. X. DE FELLER, Edition revue et continuée jusqu'en 1848. 8 vols. grand in 8vo. f.56. Mequignon.

Besides numerous additions inserted in the body of the work, this edition contains a supplement, which consists of about a thousand articles, and continues the biography as far as May, 1850. M. Charles Weiss, administrator of the Library of Besançon, and the Abbé Busson have been charged with the superintendence of the new edition. It is got up in admirable style, printed on fine paper, and with large clear type.

*La Question religieuse en 1682, 1790, 1802, et 1848, et historique complet des travaux du Comité des Cultes de l'Assemblée Constituante en 1848.* Par M. P. PRADIE, Representant du peuple, et Secrétaire du Comité des Cultes. 1 vol. 8vo. f.5. Sagnier et Bray.

M. Pradie is the author of *Essais sur l'Etre Divin*, and many other works of a religious tendency. The present volume commences with a general view of the actual position of the clergy, and of the state of religion in Europe. It contains an account of the various turns taken by ecclesiastical affairs in France since the year 1682, gives particular information regarding the boundaries of dioceses, the nomination of Bishops, the faculties of theology, seminaries, monastic institutions, ecclesiastical tribunals, &c., and concludes with a comparison between the spirit of former legislation on Church matters, and that which characterized the proceedings of the Assembly of 1848 regarding the same subject.

*Esquisse de Rome Chrétienne.* Par l'Abbe Ph. GERBET. Tome 2. 1 vol. 8vo. Au Bureau des Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne.

Six years have elapsed since the publication of the first volume of

this work. The labours of the author have been retarded by the late disturbances in France and Italy, but he is at present engaged in a third volume, which is destined to complete the work. The object which M. Gerbet has in view is to trace among the monuments of Christian Rome the emblems which they display of the faith, the discipline, and the attributes of the Church. He follows neither the chronological nor the topographical order of those remains, nor does he even treat them separately and distinctly. He seizes on some trait in the constitution of the Church, discovers it symbolized in some ancient monument, traces its appearance in other monuments and other times, until at last the point in question is placed in a light too clear to derive any aid from Archeology. In the first volume his subjects were the external characters of the Church: her Unity, Catholicity, and Perpetuity. The second is devoted to matters connected with her internal organization; the Primacy, and its attributes; the more prominent points of Catholic faith, and the boundless charity which always burns in the hearts of the faithful. Treating of the articles of faith, he takes up in succession the unity of God, original sin, revelation, the sacraments, penitential works, prayers for the dead, invocation of Saints, &c., and reading the belief of the early Christians in the vestiges which remain of their time, proves triumphantly that the doctrine of the Church upon these points has remained without an iota of change since the Apostolic age.

The second volume contains some historical details of deep interest concerning the precious relics of the Passion; and at the end is placed a dissertation on the catacombs.

*Cours d'Archeologie Sacrée.* Par M. l'Abbé GODARD, Professeur d'histoire Ecclesiastique et d'Archeologie au grand Seminaire de Langres. 1 vol. 8vo. f.7. Guyot.

The study of Archeology is rapidly progressing in France. Not many years ago it was confined to a few individuals, whose peculiar turn of mind inclined them to antiquarian researches; now it is almost a necessary branch of education. Already classes of archeology have been established in many of the diocesan seminaries. The want of a class-book having been felt, M. Godard was commissioned by the Bishop of Langres to compile one. The first volume of his treatise is published, the second will shortly appear. M. Godard sets out from the altars of the Patriarchs, and delineates the various styles which have been adopted in sacred edifices from that remote period to the present day. He applies the principles of æsthetics to the several styles, and points out the religious ideas embodied in them. The second volume will contain lengthened dissertations on Iconography, Church music, sacred vessels, and other subjects which are necessarily treated in a cursory manner in the first volume.



*Melanges d'Archeologie d'histoire, et de litterature, redigees ou recueillies.* Par les auteurs de la Monographie de la Cathedrale de Bourges, les R. R. P. P. CHARLES CAHIER et ARTHUR MARTIN, grand in 4to. Avec de Superbes gravures noires en couleur et en or. Prix de chaque volume, f.32. Poussielgue-Rusaud.

This valuable work is published in numbers, each containing four pages of text, and from three to five engravings. Eight numbers are published every year, and form a volume. The volume of last year contains descriptions of the shrines of Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle, morsels of sculpture and brass-work from Bamberg, Ratisbonne, Munich, Paris, and London, Byzantine tissues, paintings, and bas-reliefs of the Carlovingian epoch, &c. The text is from the pen of Pere Cahier, the engravings have been executed principally by Pere Martin. The latter are truly magnificent.

*Dictionnaire Iconographique des figures, legendes et actes des saints tant de l'ancienne que de la nouvelle loi, et Repertoire alphabetique des attributs qui sont donnés le plus ordinairement aux Saints, par les artistes du moyen age et des temps posterieurs; avec l'indication des ouvrages et collections ou sont conservées et publiées les representations de ces divers attributs. Ouvrage suivi d'appendices ou l'on trouve une foule de documents, &c.* Par M. L. J. GUENEBAULT, Publié par l'Abbé Migne. 1 vol. 4to. f.7.

A complete and most useful repertory of sacred symbolism.

*Antiphonaire de St. Gregoire, avec de pieces justificatives, &c.* Par les soins du R. P. LAMBILLOTE, S. J., Poussielgue-Rusaud.

The MS. of the Antiphonary sent by Adrian the First to Charlemagne, is still preserved in the Benedictine monastery at St. Gall. This interesting relic is about to be published under the superintendence of Pere Lambilote, together with numerous proofs of its authenticity, collected by him, and a key to the musical notation of the period.

*De l'Education.* Par Mgr. l'EVEQUE D'ORLEANS. 1 vol. 8vo. f.7. Lecoffre.

The first volume only of this work has appeared. It is divided into five books. After a few preliminary observations concerning education and the dispositions of childhood, the venerable author discusses the means to be employed, and insists eloquently on the paramount influence of religion. Although Education is a work which requires authority on one side and obedience on the other, he demands that due respect be paid to the liberty of the child's nature. He closes the volume by examining what religion can and should do for the education of the people. Mgr. Dupanloup has had long experience in the nature which he treats of, having been Superior of the Petit Seminaire at Paris.

*Influence des Peres de l'Eglise sur l'Education publique pendant les*

*cinq premiers siècles de l'Ere Chrétienne.* Par J. A. LALANNE, Ch. Hon. Beauvais. Dissertation admise par la Faculté de Lettres à Paris pour le Doctorat. 1 vol. 8vo. Sagnier et Bray.

This little work is divided into two parts; the first is chiefly taken up with combating an assertion usually made, that the fathers of the first three centuries discountenanced profane literature, because they dreaded the light of Philosophy. In the second the author sets forward in a forcible manner the successful efforts made by the Fathers of the Church to reform the education of youth. They destroyed a false philosophy and a sensual literature; protected the child against the abuse of parental authority; made chastity respected; and by making the marriage bonds indissoluble, shielded the child from the unhappy consequences of the divorce of their parents.

*La Verite sur la Loi d'Enseignement.* Par Mgr. L'EVEQUE DE LANGRES. 1 vol. 8vo. Lecoffre.

This little brochure is already well known in Ireland. It is a calm discussion of the advantages possessed by the new Law over the *status quo* on the one hand, and of the evils and dangers resulting from it on the other.

*Reforme Universitaire.* Par M. Amadée Margerie, f.1. 50. Lecoffre.

A remarkable pamphlet, by a member of the University. He upbraids that institution with having destroyed the faith and blunted the moral sense of the youth of France; and complains, too, of the evident falling off in the University studies. Among other means for checking these growing evils, he proposes the erection of separate colleges for students of different religious persuasions.

*Loi sur l'Enseignement; avec un Commentaire.* Par M. DE CHAMPEAUX. c.75. Lecoffre.

Extracted from the Bulletin de lois civiles Ecclesiastiques, a most useful periodical, conducted by M. De Champeaux.

*Cours Alphabetique, Theorique, et Pratique de la Legislation Civile Ecclesiastique.* Par l'Abbé AUDRE. 3 vols. 8vo. Perisse, f.21.

The third volume contains the most complete commentary which has yet appeared on the new law of public instruction.

*Documents Inédits pour servir à l'Histoire Litteraire d'Italie.* Par M. OZANAM. f.5. 25. Lecoffre.

M. Ozanam was sent to Italy, in 1846, by M. Salvandy, the then Minister of Public Instruction, to collect materials for a literary history of that country. The present volume is the result of his

researches. It is preceded by an introduction, consisting of a rapid sketch of the state of learning in Italy, from Gregory the Great to the time of Dante. He traces the continuance of secular instruction through the long series of grammarians who form the chain which connects the Imperial Schools with the early Italian Universities. He shows that ecclesiastical studies were uninterruptedly carried on in the Episcopal Schools and Monastic Institutions. The conclusion he arrives at is, that "if the sun of letters set upon Italy to rise upon Ireland, England, Germany and other countries of the north, the time of her darkness was one of those beautiful summer nights when the twilight of evening is prolonged until it mingles with the dawn of the morning." Among the documents which he has been able to collect, are the following: A description of the city of Rome, in Latin verse; a collection of Hymns; the Poems of two monks of Monte Cassino, in 11th century; Verses by Buonagiunta of Lucca, &c.

*Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet, et la Chine.* Par M. l'Abbe Hur. 2 vols. 8vo. f.10. Leclerc.

M. Hur delineates graphically the manners of the Nomade tribes, and relates with such spirit and humour the many strange adventures which befel him amongst them, that his book possesses all the attraction of a romance.

*Bibliothèque des familles chrétiennes et des maisons d'éducation; ou collection des meilleurs ouvrages Français et étrangers revus, corrigés avec soin, et adaptés à l'usage de jeunesse.* Publiée sous la direction de M. l'Abbé CAUISE. Chaque volume, broché. f.3.

Among the works published in this collection we find Robertson's History of America, corrected by the Abbe Millault; and a Tableau de l'Empire Romaine, abridged from Gibbon's Decline and Fall by Abbe Cruise. M. Cruise is born of Irish parents, and is one of the most distinguished among the clergy of Paris; he is Rector of the Ecole des hautes Etudes in that diocese. His name is a sufficient guarantee for the works which compose this collection.

*Selecta Patrum Latinorum ad usum omnium Scholarum Humanitatis et Grammatices,* approbante P. L. Episcopo Lingonensi (Langres). Chaque vol. f.1.

Five volumes are published. The first contains Sermons by the Fathers of the Latin Church; the second, Odes, Epistles, &c., by the same; the third, the Doctors of the Church of France; the fourth, the Lives, and extracts from the writings, of the principal Latin Fathers; the fifth, Lives of Martyrs, History of Persecutions, &c.

*Etudes Morales et Religieuses.* Par Mdle. Curo. 2nde edition, corrigée et augmentée. Hachette.

Thirty-one simple conferences destined for the use of children. The conferences consist of the explanation and development of a text from St. Paul, followed by an amusing and instructive story.

*Cours de Littérature Française.* Par une Religieuse Ursuline du Sacre Cœur. 2 vols. 12mo. f.2. 40. Perisse Freres.

This Religious has already published an Abridgment of Sacred History, and a Short Course of Ancient History. Her treatises are admirably suited for female education.

*Defense de Sept Sacraments, publiée Contre Martin Luther par Henri VIII. Roi d'Angleterre et Seigneur d'Irlande.* Traduite. Par R. J. POTTIER, Licencié des-lettres. 1 vol. 8vo. f.6. Garnier freres.

A very faithful translation of this rare and interesting work; it is to be lamented however that the Latin text is not given. It is preceded by an introduction by the Bishop of La Rochelle, in which the authorship of the work is attributed to Fisher. A translation of the Bull *Auctorem fidei*, by the same prelate, is placed at the end of the volume.

*Des Causes de la Situation Actuelle de la France.* Par l'Abbe Clement Grandcour. c.75. Sagnier et Bray.

A great number of brochures on the same subject have appeared during the last twelvemonths, some of which are written with considerable ability; their object is to show that the political and social evils of Europe derive their origin from the spread of infidelity, and that a return to the profession and practice of Catholicism is the only remedy to be hoped for.

*Conferences de Notre Dame de Paris.* Par le R. P. HENRI DOMINIQUE LACORDAIRE. Tome 3<sup>ème</sup>. f.7. 50. Sagnier et Bray.

Pere Lacordaire is still engaged in carrying out his design of giving a series of discourses on the principal dogmas of religion. Two volumes of these discourses have been for some time in print, the first containing the Sermons of 1835, 1836, and 1843, and the second those of 1844, 1845, and 1846. The volume just published contains those of the last three years. The Sermons delivered in 1848 are upon the Existence of God, His essence, His attributes and His works; those delivered in 1849 are headed "Du commerce de l'homme avec Dieu:" they treat of Revelation, Prophecy, Mysteries, &c. The subjects of last year are the Fall of Man and his Redemption through Christ. The Sermon on the Evidences of Man's Fall in the Condition of the Human Race, is one of surpassing truth and eloquence.

*Petits Sermons, &c.,* Cinquieme edition, revue et Augmentee d'un Sermon sur la Grace. Par M. l'Abbe ROHRBACHER. 1 vol. 12mo. f.3. 50. Gaume.

Discourses well worthy the reputation of the author.

*Imitation de Jesus Christ.* Traduction nouvelle. Par M. L. MOREAU. 1 vol. 32mo. f.3. Lecoffre.

M. Moreau, the Curator of the Mazarine Library, has already given to the world beautiful translations of the "City of God" and the "Confessions" of St. Augustine. His present work has more simplicity and unction, and comes nearer to the style of the original, than the version of Lamennais. In his preface M. Moreau contrasts the pride, the hate, and the ambition of the present age, the causes of all existing evil with the principles inculcated in the Imitation of Christ, the book of humility and self-denial. Every chapter is followed by commentaries, reflections and prayers extracted from the Fathers and the Masters of a spiritual life.

*Culte de Marie.* 1 vol. grand, 8vo. f.3. 50. Sagnier et Bray.

Besides a number of offices, litanies, devotions, &c. in Latin and French, this little work contains an historical resumé of the devotions established in honour of the Blessed Virgin.

*Meditations sur l'Eucharistie.* Par M. l'Abbe de la BOUILLERIE, Vicaire General de Paris. 1 vol. 12mo. f.3. Sagnier et Bray.

There exists in Paris a Society of fervent Christians called l'Association de l'Adoration Nocturne du tres Saint Sacrement. M. Bouillierie is the Director of the Society, and gives a lecture once a month upon the Holy Eucharist to the assembled members. He has been induced to publish these discourses for the use of those who attend the *Quarant ore* now established in Paris.

*Marie, des Glories et des Souffrances.* Par l'Abbe S. M. VIARDS du diocese de Langres. 2 vols. 12mo. f.5. Lecoffre.

*Beauté dur Culte Catholique* Par l'Abbe M. X. RAFFRAY. 3eme edition. 2 vols. 12mo. f.3. Sagnier et Bray.

*Conferences Adresses au Protestants et aux Catholiques.* Par JOHN HENRY NEWMAN. Traduites de l'Anglais par J. GONDON. 1 vol. 8vo. f.6. Sagnier et Bray.

M. Gondon is the writer of the articles on English affairs in the *Univers*. He has translated also the "Conferences of the Oratory," and the "History of Developments," and has published some works of his own on the Catholic Movement in England.

*Vies de Jesus et de Marie meditées.* Par une jeune pensionnaire Suivies de Visites au Saint Sacrement et a la sainte vierge. Par l'Abbe STEPHEN FRUCOT. 1 vol. 32mo. f.2. 25. Lagnes Freres.

An excellent body of meditations.

*Pelerinage a Jerusalem.* Par. Mgr. MISLIN, Abbé Mitré de Deg en Hongrie. Avec de gravures. 2 vols. 8vo. f.14. Guyot.

An interesting account of the Holy Monuments of Palestine, and especially of Jerusalem itself. It will take the place of the once popular "Pilgrimage of Baron Geramb."

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

*A Plea for the Rights and Liberties of Religious Women, with reference to the Bill proposed by Mr Lacy.* By Bishop Ullathorne. London, Dublin, and Derby: RICHARDSON and SON, 1851.

IF our Legislators can still entertain any sense of right any good feeling, where Catholics are concerned, we think they must be touched by this pamphlet; in which Dr. Ullathorne has with so much dignity and mildness vindicated the rights of Convents. He has done so by a grave and circumstantial account of their admirable constitutions, the wise anxiety with which every abuse has been guarded against, and the high motives and purposes with which the ladies who inhabit them have selected this angelic life. Only at last, when he had read Mr. Drummond's shameful speech does the patience of the bishop waver, and a few sentences of noble indignation escape from him. Shame, indeed, to England, through all the wild outbursts of passion which revolutions have excited on the continent, the unoffending, holy, humble nuns, living for the service of God and the poor,—have been respected; in England only—chivalrous England, have such things been said and listened to concerning them, as could have been tolerated only in the House of Commons—or the street. The Bishop points out the insult offered by Mr. Lacy's bill, insinuating charges, that cannot be supported—much less proved; and which, if carried, will inflict punishment where there is no crime, subjecting the dwellings of some of the first ladies in the land, to such domiciliary visits, as could not be tolerated, *are* not tolerated, except in the mad-house or the gaol; shocking the delicacy and the feelings of persons as much entitled to the protection of the law as the Queen upon the throne—and this is done—Oh crowning touch of hypocritical insolence and humbug which only this age of ours could venture on,—under the pretence of protecting them. But



we do injustice to our feelings by expressing them in any other than Dr. Ullathorne's own language.

"These pages had gone through the press before that extraordinary episode had arisen in the debate on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, otherwise they must, in some parts, have taken a different tone and colour. A member of the honourable house thought fit to throw ribaldry of a description with which God forbid I should soil these pages, on Christ's most pure Virgins. They were English ladies; they were absent, unoffending, blameless; no matter, they had no known and individual protectors; and so this honourable gentleman pronounced them infamous. This conduct was decided to be not out of order, and no reproof could be given. I question not the decision, which was technical, and there was no remedy. But the Prime Minister, when called up, and not before, gave a mild opinion that the feelings of honourable members should not be wounded. Were there no other feelings wounded more deeply still? No rights invaded? Was no great injustice perpetrated? No one's gold, or land, or life were taken; but what even this world accounts to be more precious than land, or gold, or life,—the pure fame, the unsullied honour and good repute of their countrywomen, were assaulted in that assembly whose province it is to protect the subject from wrong. The age of chivalry is indeed gone. We are deeply indebted to Sir James Graham for rescuing us from the scorn of Europe on this occasion. If it is supposed that these and like contumelies will have any effect in deterring generous souls from convents, this is a grievous mistake. It is heroic hearts that are drawn thither, others are not wanted there. And hearts that are heroic in faith know well, they see it as an abiding vision, they feel it as a subsisting truth within their souls, strange and unmeaning as it may sound in the ears of worldlings, that contumely and reproaches with Christ are the lot of His saints. Persecution has always been the mallet with which God has driven firmly into their places in His Church the foundations of her hierarchies: and calumnious tongues are the instruments which He has deigned to use for chastening, fire-trying, and glorifying His faithful servants of her religious orders."

Let our Catholic representatives remember that this bill is *pending*, and they will surely strain every nerve to save us from this new wrong.